Master's thesis
Geography
Human geography

Planning machines in Helsinki: cross-sectoral cooperation, large actors and international ideas on the local planning field

Uula Saastamoinen

2019

Supervisor: Prof. Sami Moisio

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
FACULTY OF SCIENCE
DEPARTMENT OF GEOSCIENCES AND GEOGRAPHY
GEOGRAPHY

P. O. Box 64 (Gustaf Hällströmin katu 2)
00014 University of Helsinki

Faculty	Department
Faculty of Science	Department of Geosciences and Geography

Author
Uula Saastamoinen

Title
Planning machines in Helsinki: cross-sectoral cooperation, large actors and international ideas on the local planning field

Subject
Urban and planning geography

Level	Month and year	Number of pages
Master's thesis	April 2019	82

Abstract

This thesis examines cross-sectoral interaction, the role of large actors and its implications to citizens as well as the institutional factors shaping the functioning of the planning sector in Helsinki. The aim is to understand the local planning climate and how it has been shaped by global ideas. Helsinki was chosen because the combination of municipal planning monopoly and vast land ownership makes it a unique case study.

Research on large actors (referred to as *planning machines* and *global intelligence corps*) has illustrated that large actors and the traveling planning ideas introduced by them affect local planning climates. The resources of planning machines can exclude smaller actors from the field, and complicate the efforts of citizens to resist projects executed by them. International planning ideas on the other hand are adopted by planning officials and local politicians, resulting in a more managerial and entrepreneurial role of planning departments and city councils. Ecological planning is an example of a traveling planning idea discussed in the thesis. Both planning machines and traveling planning ideas have been associated with a post-political climate in which alternatives to current development are marginalised, having direct consequences for democracy.

A total of nine professionals from public and private sectors were interviewed, and the semi-structured interviews were coded and analysed using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. Figures and tables of the 20 most frequent codes and three codes with a highest co-occurrence with each of these codes were chosen for the analysis, as well as other codes with relevance to the research questions.

The analysis shows that institutional factors place Helsinki in a strong position to negotiate with the private sector. In cross-sectoral cooperation the role of the public sector has become more managerial and the city has advanced its strategic goals concerning the attractiveness and competitiveness of the city region. However, the city has protected its interests in themes such as social mixing, slowing down negative development witnessed elsewhere. New forms of partnerships such as Allianssi model are examples of successful cross-sectoral cooperation where the power relations between sectors are more equal, but seem to favour large actors due to their resource-heavy nature. Procurement legislation also favours large actors for the same reason. Recommendations for further spatial, temporal and scalar research are proposed.

Keywords
Planning machines, traveling planning ideas, cross-sectoral cooperation, institutional factors

Where deposited
University of Helsinki, Kumpula science library

Additional information
-

Tiedekunta/Osasto	Laitos
Matemaattis- luonnontieteellinen tiedekunta	Geotieteiden ja maantieteen laitos

Tekijä
Uula Saastamoinen

Työn nimi
Sektorien välinen yhteistyö, isot toimijat ja kansainväliset ideat Helsingin kaupunkisuunnittelussa

Oppiaine
Kaupunki- ja suunnittelumaantiede

Työn laji	Aika	Sivumäärä/
Pro gradu-tutkielma	Huhtikuu 2019	82

Tiivistelmä

Tämä Pro gradu –tutkimus käsittelee sektorien välistä vuorovaikutusta, suurten toimijoiden roolia ja vaikutuksia kansalaisille, sekä institutionaalisia tekijöitä jotka muokkaavat Helsingin kaupunkisuunnittelusektorin toimintaa. Tarkoituksena on ymmärtää paikallista suunnitteluilmastoa ja kansainvälisten ideoiden vaikutusta siihen. Helsinki on valikoitunut tutkimuskohteeksi koska kunnallisen suunnittelumonopolin ja kaupungin laajan maanomistuksen yhdistelmä tekee Helsingistä ainutlaatuisen tapaustutkimuksen.

Suuriin toimijoihin (tekstissä *planning machines* ja *global intelligence corps*) keskittyvä tutkimus on osoittanut, että suuret toimijat ja kansainvälisesti leviävät suunnitteluideat vaikuttavat paikallisiin suunnitteluilmastoihin. Suurten toimijoiden resurssit voivat heikentää pienempien toimijoiden mahdollisuuksiin toimia suunnittelukentällä, ja vaikeuttaa kansalaisten vaikuttamismahdollisuuksia. Sekä kuntakaavoittajat että –poliitikot myös omaksuvat näitä ideoita, jotka muuttavat julkisen sektorin toimintatapaa elinkeinoelämälle suotuisammaksi. Ekologinen suunnittelu on esimerkki tutkielmassa käsiteltävästä kansainvälisestä suunnitteluideasta. Sekä suurilla toimijoilla että kansainvälisillä suunnitteluideoilla on tunnistettu olevan suoria vaikutuksia demokratialle, koska ne luovat ilmapiirin jossa nykykehityksen vastaiset vaihtoehdot on marginalisoitu.

Tutkielmaa varten haastateltiin yhteensä yhdeksän ammattilaista julkiselta ja yksityiseltä sektorilta, ja nämä puoli-strukturoidut haastattelut koodattiin ja analysoitiin laadullisen aineiston käsittelyyn tarkoitetulla ohjelmalla. Kaaviot 20 yleisimmästä koodista ja muista tutkimuskysymysten kannalta oleellisista koodeista on tuotu osaksi tutkielman analyysia, kuten myös taulukko, josta käy ilmi kolme kunkin koodin kanssa yleisimmin esiintyvää koodia.

Analyysi osoittaa, että institutionaaliset tekijät asettavat Helsingin vahvaan neuvotteluasemaan yksityisen sektorin kanssa. Sektorien välisessä yhteistyössä julkisen sektorin roolista on tullut elinkeinoelämää mukailevampi, ja Helsinki on aktiivisesti edistänyt strategisia tavoitteitaan houkuttelevuuden ja kilpailukyvyn lisäämiseksi. Toisaalta kaupunki on suojellut intressejään muun muassa sekoittamispolitiikkaan liittyen, hidastaen muualla nähtävillä olevaa demokratiaa heikentävää kehitystä. Uudet yhteistyön muodot kuten Allianssi-malli ovat esimerkkejä onnistuneesta ja tasa-arvoisemmasta sektorien välisestä yhteistyöstä, mutta vaativat paljon resursseja ja näyttävät näin suosivan suuria toimijoita. Kilpailutuslainsäädäntö suosii suuria toimijoita samasta syystä. Maantieteellisiin, ajallisiin ja mittakaavallisiin ulottuvuuksiin keskittyviä jatkotutkimuksia suositellaan.

Avainsanat
Isot rakennuttajat, kansainväliset suunnitteluideat, sektorien välinen yhteistyö, institutionaalisten aspektien merkitys

Säilytyspaikka
Helsingin yliopisto, Kumpulan kampuskirjasto

Muita tietoja – Övriga uppgifter – Additional information
-

Contents

1. Introduction

This thesis examines cross-sectoral interaction, the role of large actors and its implications to citizens as well as the institutional factors shaping the functioning of the planning sector in Helsinki. The reason for providing such a perspective is to better recognise the roles of actors on the field, and how they are being shaped by global ideas. The analysis is the first of its kind in Helsinki and contributes to the growing international literature on the topic. In Helsinki, planning decisions affect the functioning of the entire city region, and the lives of 1.5 million people. Construction physically shapes the urban fabric, leaving its mark for generations to come. The recent history of Helsinki can be read from its layers of architecture, and the story is one of rapid change and urbanisation.

Finland has gone through a profound structural change. Even if Finland joined the industrialisation trend relatively late in European comparison, its effects were widely felt across the country (Alestalo, 1986). But while the countryside and farming sector were revolutionised by new technology, which made most manual rural jobs redundant, the people uplifted by the structural change and pushed to cities encountered a mostly post-industrial reality when they arrived.

Such an unprecedented migration required extraordinary mitigation efforts from the public sector to provide housing and infrastructure, and together with construction companies the efforts materialised into countless new neighbourhoods around the country, mostly on land owned by constructors. The achievement was also made possible by new building technology, and close personal ties between people from all sectors, which enabled quick coordination and encouraged financing parties to invest in the projects (Hankonen, 1994).

Decades later, the financial crisis of the early 1990's would devastate the construction sector and bankrupt several large actors.

Even after joining the EU and the advance of globalisation, five of the seven largest construction companies in Finland are Finnish, the other two being Swedish subsidiaries (Törmänen, 2018). But the planning ideas are increasingly global; partly because of more frictionless flow of information, partly because the toughening competitive climate between city regions nationally and internationally. When the diffusion of planning ideas has been studied, the direction they take is predominantly shaped by national legislation; same ideas will result in a variety of adaptations (McCann, 2011). Ecological forms of planning, different forms of cross-sectoral partnerships and even the right to participate and questions of democracy all take place in the national context, even if the ideas themselves are global.

The role of the most influential global actors and their influence on the planning field in various countries has only started to be of interest in recent years, and by looking at how the largest actors interact with the public planning sector in Helsinki I am hoping to contribute to a body of growing international literature on the topic. The Finnish planning system in overall and Helsinki in particular have peculiarities which make for a unique case study. A clear, hierarchical structure and municipalities' extensive land ownership combined with municipal planning monopoly create a fascinating environment to which actors and international influences must adapt to. As the Finnish Land Use and Building Act is currently being rewritten, documenting the conditions which now exist also offers an opportunity for comparative research in the future.

Since the topic has not been studied in Finnish context before, I am hoping that my research not only sheds light on the climate in which large actors currently operate in Helsinki and the way they interact with the public sector, but also highlights the role of institutional factors, particularly legislation and the (changing) role of the public sector in

cross-sectoral interaction. Communication between sectors has been recognised as an important factor in stimulating innovation within cities (Storper, 2013), and in Finnish city regions the unclear relationship between different municipal, regional and national planning instruments has implications not only for growth but also for participation and democracy (Kanninen and Bäcklund, 2017). A broad aim of my research is to bring together the modes of reasoning from both sectors and encourage further professional, academic and public discussion on the topic.

My leading research questions are as follows:

1. What characteristics does the planning environment in Helsinki have?
2. What is the role of planning machines in Helsinki?
3. How does legislation shape the planning field in Helsinki?
4. How do public and private actors see the role of citizen participation in the planning process?

Research conducted on the Helsinki metropolitan region suggests that an analysis of the urban structure must include at least a historical overview, a wider global context in which the city is positioned, as well as an understanding of local administration (Vaattovaara and Kortteinen, 2003). In my thesis, a crucial part for understanding my research will be the Finnish Land Use and Building Act, which I will introduce first. This is followed by a historical overview of relevant planning history both globally and locally, which sets the context for a contemporary academic literature review. As part of the literature review, the key terminology will be introduced before I introduce and justify my use of research methods. Finally, I will present the key findings using tables and figures, followed by a more in-depth analysis which attempts to bring together the viewpoints of both sectors. Based on

the analysis, I will offer recommendations for future cross-sectoral cooperation as well as for future research on the topic.

1.1. Introduction to Land Use and Building Act

Since I wish to research the Finnish planning scene, it is central for anyone wishing to read my thesis to understand Finnish planning legislation. Before engaging further with the theoretical framework, I will introduce relevant legislation.

Land Use and Building Act guides land use planning and built environment in Finland. Its aim is to ensure the creation of good living environment, where all factors from social and ecological to financial are being taken into consideration. It also guarantees everyone a right to participate in the planning process, as well as a right to file a complaint.

Land Use and Building Act (LUBA) is divided to three hierarchical layers, each layer setting guidelines for the more detailed layer below. National land use objectives (LUBA §22) are a general set of principles dictating the important planning aspects which should be considered in all land use planning. These objectives are decided by the Council of State.

The first layer consists of regional land use plans, agreed upon by regional councils. Regional councils are responsible for wider development objectives within their statutory regions, and have an important role in guiding the strategic development of local authorities. Regional land use plans must follow the objectives put forth in the national land use objectives and must ensure sufficient protection of the natural environment. For example, current regional land use plans have an important role in creating designated regional green networks. In addition they coordinate regional matters such as infrastructure.

The second layer consists of master plans executed by municipalities. The purpose of master plans is to guide land use planning in municipalities, assigning zones for different

functions. Master plans cannot contradict the functions assigned to areas in the regional plan (LUBA §32), and the decisions must be based on sufficient research.

The third layer consists of detailed plans, which guide local land use within each zone of the master plan. For example, in housing zones detailed plans can dictate the maximum permitted building volume per certain area, the maximum number of storeys and so forth. In addition, municipalities have a planning monopoly within their administrative boundaries, which also concerns privately owned land. In cities like Helsinki, where the municipality has the resources to draw its own detailed and master plans, and where the municipality owns a large percentage of the land, the city has a strong authority in guiding land use planning.

Notably missing from the planning system is an official city-regional layer. Nevertheless, the role of city regions as functional areas has been recognised and supporting agreements have been negotiated. *MAL* agreements consider land use, transport and housing from a regional perspective, and with the help of the government aim to increase the competitiveness of city regions (Mäntysalo and Kosonen, 2016). However, MAL agreements have been criticised for their lack of democracy; being outside the legal planning framework, they do not have similar requirements for participation, which are guaranteed by law in LUBA (Mäntysalo and Kosonen, 2016). In addition, municipalities within city regions have traditionally been competing with each other over investments and inhabitants, which combined with strong autonomy due to planning monopoly has led to sub-optimisation (Kanninen and Bäcklund, 2017). Contemporary research on Finnish city regions is greatly concerned with finding tools to more effectively address regional development and improve cooperation (Mäntysalo et al., 2014).

2. Theoretical framework

The purpose of this section is to set my research in context. Moving from a broader framework towards specific issues, I aim to show the extent to which local planning policies are being shaped by globally circulating ideas, in a network extending from global cities to consultants responsible for spreading these ideas. This overview does not try to be a complete history of planning; I have chosen time periods and ideologies which, based on relevant readings, I have deemed important and influential, and which continue to shape subsequent planning decisions. The theoretical framework from international context is applied to Finnish context where relevant. The final section introduces the planning history of Helsinki; finishing with this segment will give readers better tools to recognise the similarities and differences between global and local contexts. While planning in Finland and Helsinki in particular has its own peculiarities, the aim of this section is to show how the field has over time become more and more influenced and shaped by international ideas, of which entrepreneurialism, ecologisation and participation will be discussed in more detail. As the first part of my analysis, this section lays the foundation for the discussion taking place further in the thesis.

2.1. Common good

For the most part of the 20th century planning has concerned itself with the idea of common good, which is not a simple matter. The plurality of voices - ethnicities, socio-economic classes, business and personal interests - first demand us to clarify our approach to good

design. Is it something which benefits everyone equally, or can one make a case for fairness - giving more to those who have less so that they have a more equal standing - instead?

A utilitarian approach has seemed to dominate the discussion (Campbell and Marshall, 2012). But utilitarianism also implies that one approach is favoured over others, and its use must be justified. Planners have a long history of assuming authority over moral questions. As trained engineers and architects, they claim to know the functioning of cities, which in their eyes were essentially just networks of concrete and asphalt, green spaces and public transport routes. Zoning was a result of such physical development planning, and while functionality was the key aim, engineers and architects were routinely criticised for their arrogance and lack of scientific understanding of social issues. They had strong faith in their professionalism, and believed that they possessed the necessary knowledge for creating well-functioning cities.

This thinking can be traced back at least a century, to the afterglow of Enlightenment era and triumph of rationalism (Fishman, 2016). The conversion of absolutism to sophisticated bureaucratic machinery all over Europe paved way to authoritarian planning, and instead of resource extraction these new states had high ambitions to engineer entire societies, at a scale that only massive state authorities could (Diamond, 1997; Fishman, 2016). In some ways this thinking can be seen as utopian; the imagined change was certainly unprecedented in human history both in scale and pace.

In planning, this thinking was closely present in the work of Le Corbusier, undoubtedly one of the most influential figures of his profession. Many of the early 20th century planners wanted to create static cities; once completed, nothing would have to be changed. Even if none of the utopian visions materialised, thinkers of this era greatly influenced planning for decades to come and to some extent even today. Models of well-structured cities of great discipline dominated the era, most notably led by the Chicago

School (MacLeod, 2011). Cities were imagined as unitary organisms, which could be easily modified by altering the physical structure, just as distinct neighbourhoods within cities could be organised based on land use.

The push to state-led coordination did come eventually, but it was rather a result of ongoing war effort than utopian thinking. Nonetheless, the world wars were seen as great examples of how state power could be harnessed to orchestrate and coordinate the functioning of entire countries and subordinate private interests to serve a national agenda (Campbell and Marshall, 2012). The mindset stuck, and especially in the UK mid-20th century planners enjoyed almost total hegemony over planning decisions and were deemed to be the experts with best knowledge regarding what constitutes as 'common good'. Again, the lives and workings of city dwellers or the private sector were not regarded important for planning decisions; rather, by altering the physical structure of the city, planners were thought to be able to alter the behaviour of its citizens. The reason relatively little resistance to this hegemony existed was that arguing against 'common good' or 'public interest' was not easy, no matter how vaguely both terms were in fact defined. Common good remained a blind spot until the emergence of postmodernist project during the 1970s and 1980s.

The lived reality of cities was not static, and visions of urban utopias failed to materialise. Critics of the modernist planning project of the 1960s called for greater recognition of the multiplicity of voices co-existing in cities (Jacobs, 1961). Cities were finally recognised to have a sociological element to them, which made their behaviour less predictable (Healey, 2013). A postmodernist shift shattered the image of cities into 'multiple, overlapping 'systems' (structures, networks), with varying degrees of openness, and variable space/time reach, through which what gets to be understood, materially and mentally, as place and territory, are constructed and recognized. It is a world of human and also non-human agency, in which people are not simply autonomous individuals with single identities.

Instead, they/we often have multiple identities, formed in socio-environmental contexts' (Healey, 2013, p. 1514). Just as importantly, cities were understood to be in constant motion. While buildings, roads and parks did not change, their users did, and the use patterns with them.

People from more diverse backgrounds started to migrate to the planning field, coinciding with other important cultural shifts; a wider move towards postmodernism, and a more market-led system of economy. The perceived failure of Keynesian economics during 1970s gave a push towards neoliberalism, and less government was offered as a solution to stagnant economic growth (Harvey, 2005).

Less government oversight also fragmented the planning field, and academic observers started to become more aware of local effects of capitalist planning. Not only were cycles of investment and disinvestment creating areas of neglect and decay, these areas were later brought back to the spotlight as potential rent of the land rose high enough and investment flooded in. Gentrification followed, and the poor neighbourhoods in Western post-industrial cities experienced waves of displacement. But rather than a local anomaly or a direct result of less municipal oversight, gentrification became a crucial urban strategy of city governments to attract capital investment (Smith, 2002). The role of the city government was to be absent from certain neighbourhoods, leading to devalorisation, but produce a business climate favourable of transnational capital so that it would find its targets when the time was ripe.

Elaborating on the link between global flow of ideas and gentrification further, Davidson (2007) argues that 'gentrification has become bound-up in a global circuit of urban policy transfer where the promises of inner city "revitalisation" and "renaissance" have lured countless national and metropolitan governments into promoting a return of the middle classes back to the city' (p. 490-491). In London for instance, it is not only the perceived

ability of the architectural firm to successfully execute a large-scale redevelopment project, but their perceived ability to design a project which will appeal to the global and metropolitan class that matters (Davidson, 2007).

2.2. Modern neoliberalism and planning

Planning during modern day neoliberalism has several key characteristics which set it apart from the preceding periods. Firstly, the role of city governments as well as state actors has shifted away from mere enabling (of *privatisation* and *deregulation*), and public sector actors have adopted many characteristics of market actors (Adams and Tiesnell, 2010). Secondly, a more active role of public sectors in global policy networks has also resulted in wide coalition-building between actors from all sectors. Cross-sectoral coalitions now serve similar purposes as bringing private consultancies into the privatisation process during Thatcher-era did: they bring legitimacy and create an illusion of a democratic consensus based on common good (MacLeod, 2011). Thirdly, the types of partnerships between public and private actors have changed as the arrangements have matured and become more established.

The shift can be seen as the result of de-democratisation of market economies, a process affected by local legislation inevitably resulting in a variety of outcomes. It is however important to note that land is different from most other commodities, because it is fixed in place (Harvey, 1973). The result is a type of scarcity, as 'absolute location confers monopoly privileges upon the person who has the rights to determine use at that location. It is an important attribute of physical space that no two people or things can occupy exactly the same location' (Harvey, 1973, p. 158). This unique quality has a tendency to create apparent problems for democracy and individual freedom and has been a driving force behind urban

conflicts for centuries. Should land be a public good which cannot be privatised, or should those with right means and resources be able to purchase it, even if it means that public access is then denied? From the social perspective, private development and ownership of empty luxurious apartments ending up in real estate portfolios becomes hard to justify, when the same plot of land could have other social functions (Harvey, 2014).

The role of governments has evolved over time since the beginning of the neoliberal era: states have maintained their strong interventionist role but have also adopted a role as facilitators for businesses and business practices (Carroll and Steane, 2000). By using their access to resources the public sector can maintain stability, which in turn creates a climate where private enterprises can flourish. While neoliberalisation ideologically aims to reduce the size and presence of state machines and has succeeded in varying levels, more attention should be brought to how it has transformed the role of the public sector. Public sectors are still present, but in Western countries they have often taken a new role as market actors (Heurkens et al., 2015).

The role of the state or municipalities is then to be a negotiator between public and private interests, and step in where apparent failures would otherwise take place. The shift to a more managerial role is linked to wider transition and adjustment taking place in welfare states, as 'the municipalities change their role from being the local "arm" of the welfare state to acting as the catalyst of processes of innovation and co-operation, often between public and private parties' (Leväinen and Korthals Altes, 2005). The new reality embraces wider cross-sectoral cooperation and is perceived to be better suited for dealing with the pressure in the property market, especially when speculative international investment has a larger role in shaping city centres worldwide (Heurkens et al., 2015).

To elaborate further: to think that state-led planning would always go against the interests of private corporations would be a gross simplification. As David Harvey (1973)

argues, inherent contradictions which exist within the capitalist system not only embrace some form of state intervention, but rather rely on it. For example, social control of the land to ensure cheap housing for workforce is crucial for capitalism. But total social control on the other hand would be detrimental to property rights. The fight over the cost of living is as ever-present as is the fight over working conditions and wages. Infrastructure and public transport are also subject to similar contradictions; the need to capitalise the use of these services contradicts the need to keep the cost of using these services affordable enough so that they can indeed fulfil their role as *public* transport. An extensive public transport network is seldomly very profitable when one considers the cost of maintenance and management, but for larger cities its presence is vital (Teisman and Klijn, 2000). Reducing public transport networks into few profitable routes fulfils the profit-making purpose of private corporations, but effectively defeats the purpose of providing affordable and accessible transport.

In Finland the shift to neoliberalism has not been as visible and on both state and municipal levels a vast array of social policies are still in place. On a municipal level the property contradiction is visible in Helsinki's fairly unique 'sekoittamispolitiikka', social mixing. A proportion of apartments are reserved for low-income people, scattering them all over the city. Whereas elsewhere inequality has led to clear segregation, visible differences between neighbourhoods in employment, levels of education, income and opportunities in Helsinki have remained largely hidden and only become visible in a very careful analysis (Vaattovaara and Kortteinen, 2003; reiterated in Kortteinen and Vaattovaara, 2015).

The social mixing policy has been prevalent since the 1960s and its scale has varied from creating adjacent neighbourhoods for market-priced and social housing to having a number of apartments allocated to social housing in otherwise market-priced buildings (Schulman et al., 2000). Also, the late urbanisation of Finland has resulted in poverty

accumulation (to the extent it can be argued to exist) in the suburbs which were built during the great migration on the outskirts of the city, instead of concentrating in inner city neighbourhoods in contrast with cities which experienced a longer period of industrialisation.

This policy would not be possible without the strong guidance of the city's decision-makers. Absolute planning monopoly and large land ownership enable long term development of the city according to long-term growth plans and in compliance with the Land Use and Building Act. In 2017 Helsinki owned 63,9% of its land area (Helsingin kaupunki, 2017).

2.3. The rise of private actors

Dismantling of state monopolies in the UK and bringing neoliberalism into the mainstream was started by Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s (Jupe and Funnell, 2015). Serving as a turning point, the private sector steadily increased its role and visibility, and different forms of partnerships between public and private sector were encouraged. Privatisation was often advertised on the grounds of efficiency and a large number of private actors were invited to take part in privatising various branches of the state machine. This is also when the role of private consultancies was cemented, as they brought 'legitimacy and technical correctness to privatisation, in order to reassure a public concerned about the corruptive influences of market capitalism' (Jupe and Funnell, 2015, p. 66). The political support for privatisation, and an invitation to include private consultancies in the process legitimised their position and credibility.

Further privatisation and deregulation were encouraged by the EU, and the political climate was ripe to implement these changes (Teisman and Klijn, 2000). As economic growth

stagnated, attention was drawn to public spending. Especially government monopolies in services such as transport which could be run by private corporations came under scrutiny, as countries implemented policies to reduce the size of their public sectors. The ideology also penetrated into other areas of government spending and welfare programs in particular became an unfortunate victim. The rationale behind state-run social programs, alongside with states' ability to run such programs was questioned, leading to the weakening of safety nets for the most vulnerable citizens (Gunder, 2006). As a result, the ideology pushed by private consultancies and think tanks was able to infiltrate and affect public policy formulation.

Meanwhile, the role of the public sector has shifted from enabling deregulation and privatisation during the early stages of neoliberalism to a managerial position during mature neoliberalism (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). The new global network of influencers is a wide collection of actors from national and international governmental and non-governmental agencies, transnational corporations and other organisations operating on a transnational scale. The impact of global policy networks is indisputable and needs 'to be recognized as not just policy-making capacities getting stretched across global space so that they can link into and take advantage of all the most appropriate sources of knowledge, but as social forms in which what are the most appropriate sources of knowledge for making policy are constituted' (Prince, 2012, p. 194). A quintessential feature of *global policy networks* is the disappearance of power relations to an outside observer; the observer only sees the end-result, not the process itself.

In the planning scene, private sector can be seen as an influencer. Ever since private consultants were invited to take part in the privatisation of public bodies, their role was not limited to legality and legitimacy issues, but they also provided ideological guidance, often towards deregulation and further privatisation. These *global intelligence corps* (GICs) are 'the small community of property developers, architects, planners and academics, working

within transnational architecture, engineering and property development firms, who draw upon each other's work in planning and building urban megaprojects around the world' (Rapoport and Hult, 2017, p. 1780). Their role has remained somewhat unchanged: they do not only plan and execute construction projects, but also create many of the ideas at the centre of contemporary urban planning. These *global circuits of knowledge* (after McCann, 2011) in turn influence which planning practices are adopted around the world, and while all planning inherently has a local aspect to it, the ideas which guide local planning often come from GICs and the role of circulating transnational capital is present in the investment and disinvestment to these ideas. In the current global economy, it is important to understand the role of urban policy-making as 'both relational and territorial; as both in motion and simultaneously fixed, or embedded in place' (McCann and K Ward, 2011, p. 176).

The development towards a more private sector driven planning policy largely follows international trends, and in the Finnish context has been surprisingly state-driven. A shift in state policies in the 1990s made cities re-organise their development strategies and seek private partnerships to secure sufficient funding (Hyötyläinen and Haila, 2017). This started a trend which in recent years has led to assigning economic value to public assets. Now their use, preservation or development needs to be justified in economic terms. Therefore, the selling of land to private developers can be justified as it brings revenue to the city. A new kind of entrepreneurial real estate politics based on municipal land ownership is taking shape in Helsinki (Hyötyläinen and Haila, 2017).

However, the highest bidder does not always win the contract, raising questions about the dynamic between large and smaller actors (Malmberg, 2016). In the case of Eiranranta, as city sold the rights to private developers it could not as effectively enforce certain principles such as building mixed income housing, which has been a key element of local housing policy for over half a century (Hyötyläinen and Haila, 2017). While the new Land Use and

Building Act is currently being drafted, it is more relevant than ever to be critical of whose interests the end result is going to serve.

Not coincidentally, GICs have marketed entrepreneurialism and economic growth as a means to greater common good (McCann, 2011). Carefully building and managing the consensus around entrepreneurial cities has effectively pushed any political alternatives into the margins. According to some observers, these widely adopted ideas amount to a post-political consensus where challenging these ideas is not only unpopular but has a chance to further insulate and delegitimise these actors from the urban field (MacLeod, 2011). The resulting institutional marginalisation is an outcome of increased transnational cooperation on one hand but also of increased competition between national actors on both national and international field on the other.

When concentrating strictly on the field of urban planning and construction, a similar picture arises. The workings of global policy networks and GICs are visible in *planning machines* (after Raco et al., 2016), which have come to dominate in global cities partly because of their ability to deliver projects with speed and efficiency. The impact of these big consultancies, developers and construction companies goes way beyond submitting winning bids in large-scale construction projects. In the process the public interest, contrary to being important in itself, has become something that can be shaped and managed. The ways in which the public can resist this development are fewer and fewer, since legal expertise and financial resources are needed if one wants to have any realistic hope in challenging the big conglomerates (Raco et al., 2016).

In this thesis, I treat global policy networks, GICs and planning machines as different layers present in the flow of ideas (Figure 1.). GICs and planning machines are being used interchangeably as I see them both refer to influential actors with global significance. Their presence also has implications for local democracies, because global planning trends

influencing local decision-making take shape and operate in local planning legislation. As argued earlier, an observer willing to analyse global policy networks needs to be 'inside' the network, and this is how I see my role as a researcher: looking from the inside, from national to transnational level.

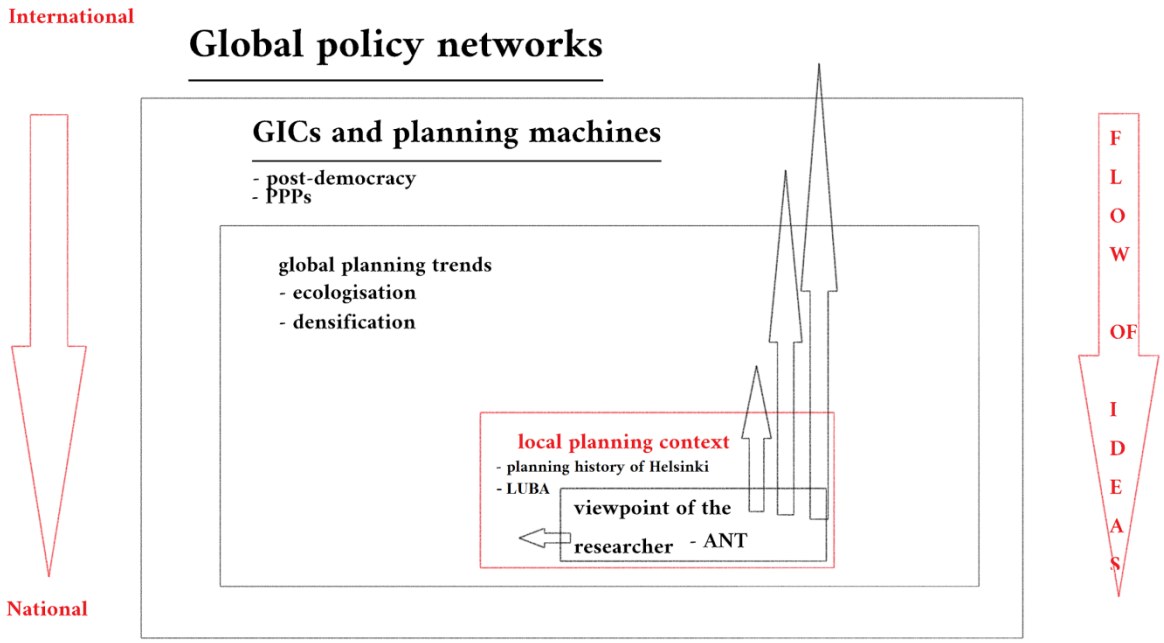

Figure 1. An illustration of the flow of ideas.

2.4. Ecologisation

The 'entrepreneurial cities' which lure middle and upper middle classes through extensive branding have found new ways of economic activity, which are good for both economic growth and liveability and desirability of these cities (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Béal, 2012). A noteworthy feature of contemporary planning trends is that they do not contradict the growth ideology (Miller, 2016). For the purposes of my thesis, I have decided to look at ecological planning, which is widely researched in the aforementioned context and also relevant in Helsinki.

Sustainability, first closely associated with grassroot environmentalism has been diluted after the term was adopted by businesses benefiting from positive connotations attached to the word. Such fuzzy concepts posit 'an entity, phenomenon problematization or process which possesses two or more alternative meanings and thus cannot be reliably identified or applied by different readers or scholars' (Markusen, 1999, p. 870). As a consequence, almost anything from sustainable economic growth to sustainable use of Earth's resources fits the description.

But even if the word might be hard to define, corporations rather than activists currently seem to control how the 'correct' sustainability manifests. For Swyngedouw (2007) 'much of the sustainability argument has evacuated the politics of the possible, the radical contestation of alternative future socio-environmental possibilities and socio-natural arrangements, and silences the radical antagonisms that are constitutive of our socio-natural orders by externalising conflict' (p. 26). Meaningful discussion no longer takes place, as voices trying to advocate for other types of sustainability, e.g. linking environmental sustainability to issues of racism, democracy, environmental and social justice, and which reject current economic systems, are silenced. They are in turn being replaced with technocratic growth ideologies, often presented in the form of sustainable urban development plans, popular among European cities (Béal, 2012). As a result, 'the environment is increasingly considered as an extra-economic factor of urban growth and as a tool to enhance urban competitiveness' (Béal 2012, p. 405).

While the aim is to create ecologically sustainable solutions, it is done through growth. Therefore, the contradiction which once existed between sustained growth and ecological values is bypassed as growth based on technological advances seeks to solve the conflict. This *ecologisation* is again driven by the global intelligence corps and their access to both political and financial resources guarantees that their ideas of ecological modernisation

dominate over grassroots environmentalism for the same reasons they sustain their hegemony in wider planning circles (Rapoport, 2013; Rapoport and Hult, 2017). As Beál (2012) argues, the marginalisation of local environmental movements during the roll-out phase of capitalist environmental policies in the 1990s marked a wider shift during which issues of sustainability were tied to economic objectives, thus removing the apparent contradiction between environmental concerns and growth ideology.

In addition to influencing the planning ideas concerning sustainability, GICs provide an expanding range of services related to ecologisation, including ecological impact assessment reports for municipal and regional councils. These consultancies are therefore perceived to have a very strong understanding and knowledge in the field of sustainability, as well as in a wide range of other services making them a desirable partner to form a working relationship with. As Rapoport and Hult (2017) state, global intelligence corps are actively pushing urban sustainability practices around the world and creating new markets for green solutions. When they also have the know-how to execute large construction projects and the authority to shape decision-makers' opinions as well as set new norms, their presence can in theory be troubling for democracy.

Another relevant theme in the urban sustainability discourse is densification, which holds great promise for solving the contradiction which states that '[f]or a city to be sustainable, the argument goes, functions and population must be concentrated at higher densities. Yet for a city to be livable, functions and population must be dispersed at lower densities' (Neuman, 2005, p. 16). Finding the most optimal concentrated urban form requires cross-sectoral cooperation as well as an efficient flow of information so that all aspects of the urban form, e.g. transport and housing can be integrated into the analysis (Holden and Norland, 2005). In this thesis densification is treated as an example of a traveling planning

idea introduced by GICs and therefore its impact on the planning field is more important than its actual ability to solve the urban sustainability contradiction.

Glaeser and Gottlieb's (2009) ideas of urban agglomeration economies, initially tied to arguments about increasing economic growth through increased density are now part of the densification discourse. A positive correlation between urban density and productivity is further demonstrated by Abel et al. (2012); the doubling of urban density is estimated to lead to a 2-4 percent increase in productivity. This increase is due to concentration of human capital and offers 'new evidence that learning and knowledge spillovers are an important source of aggregate urban agglomeration economies' (p. 584).

The new partially rejected master plan of Helsinki included ambitious plans to densify the urban structure while making more effective use of green space and existing infrastructure (Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto, 2016). Increased density offers tools for growth in addition to promising to save green space; even when growth is prioritised, environmental factors such as green areas can be taken into account and preserved (Neuman, 2005). The loss of green space is justified using the same economic vocabulary: making the green network more efficient will improve the quality of green areas even if quantity suffers as a consequence. Despite the efforts of the planning department to justify their arguments, plans to densify existing urban fabric at the cost of local green areas divided people's opinions, and caused local resistance (Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto, 2015).

2.5. Public-private partnerships

Another useful way to understand cross-sectoral interaction is through public-private partnerships (PPPs), since they offer a tangible example of new forms of cooperation and an opportunity to observe the managerial public sector at work. For the purposes of my thesis, it is useful to elaborate on a range of different definitions. As KS et al. (2016) note, a single recognised definition does not exist even between large organisations such as OECD and IMF.

According to European Investment Bank, 'a PPP should: have been initiated by the public sector - involve a clearly defined project – involve the sharing of risks with the private sector – be based on a contractual relationship which is limited in time – have a clear separation between the public sector and the Borrower' (EIB, 2005, p. 10). When the nature of the partnership can vary from outsourcing a function to private consultants to privatising an entire public service, looking at *partnerships* simply as 'cooperative ventures that rely upon agreement between actors in return for some positive outcome for each participant, which could be some economic or social goal or potential for synergy' (Carroll and Steane, 2000, p. 37) is a helpful departure point.

The EU has been busy opening up the markets to competition (Teisman and Klijn, 2000). This has meant increasing transnational cooperation and encouraging companies to take part in tendering across state borders. At the same time the EU has encouraged the dismantling of state and private monopolies and the separation of public and private sector bodies, clashing with a wider trend of increased cross-sectoral cooperation in construction and transportation fields (Teisman and Klijn, 2000). Therefore, separating public policy from

private sector ventures has not happened in the way envisioned by the EU, but has resulted in new forms of cooperation.

The drive for cities to specialise and compete with each other supports city-regionalism. While it would be tempting to see the current rise of city regions as a sign of nation states becoming more obsolete as political actors, Jonas and Moisio (2016) argue that it rather reflects the changing agenda of nation states and the new ways in which states are reimagining themselves. Such development highlights not the weakening of nation states but rather a state-driven exercise towards city regionalism and a way for nation states to succeed in their political agenda.

As a result, reduced funding makes it necessary for cities to concentrate on their strengths and make their functioning more effective. According to Brenner (2004), this presents a larger global shift from spatial Keynesianism to urban locational policy, where policies evenly spread across national territories are being replaced with territorial competition and specialisation. A strong argument for competition between local governments was put forward as a consequence of perceived new realities which were the result of globalisation (MacLeod, 2011). Cities concentrating on social objectives were deemed to inevitably fall behind and therefore they were urged to follow suit and create a business climate which would invite and favour investment. Such a business climate in turn encourages PPPs, not least because it offers municipalities an alternative way to finance projects without relying on scarce state funding.

Participating in PPPs has meant that the public sector has adopted roles traditionally linked to partnerships within the private sector, such as above-mentioned risk-sharing and a more equal partnership. The traditional design-bid-build approach where the role of the private sector is merely to win a competitive tender process in order to gain rights to build a

project designed and financed by the public sector is in stark contrast to modern day PPPs, which offer companies more freedom to use their knowledge and propose solutions to a problem defined by the public sector (Klijn and Teisman, 2000).

One form of partnership discussed in academic literature is design-build-finance-operate (DBFO). The arrangement highlights the clearly separate roles of public and private sectors in the process, while illustrating the changing role of the private sector (Siemiatycki, 2012). In DBFO schemes the private sector is much more involved in every part of the process than in the traditional design-bid-build approach. Greater involvement also means that the private sector becomes more involved in the design process and is allowed to bring their ideas to the table. As a result, as the private sector has more responsibility, the relationship between sectors evolves towards greater equality.

The reason GICs and planning machines are linked to PPPs is because they greatly benefit from public-private partnerships. In their review of critical success factors of PPPs, Osei-Kyei and Chan (2015) argue that projects involving large consortiums are more likely to deliver wanted results. The argument is that large projects need extensive resources and cross-sectoral knowledge, something which large planning consultants and construction companies possess. The findings support wider research into planning machines and their perceived effectiveness hypothesised earlier in the thesis.

In Finland, PPPs have been used primarily in infrastructure projects (Liikennevirasto, 2013). The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Transport and Communications eagerly encourage PPPs in order to benefit from increased innovation and better use of resources (LVM, 2008; TEM, 2018). Ministries have adopted a generous definition of PPPs, which also encourages increased use of innovative competitions and

competitive tendering rewarding innovation instead of pricing, a trend clearly visible in international literature (Raco et al., 2016).

PPPs also have implications for democracy. While PPPs are a financially sound solution, they often tend to forget the end-user perspective (Majamaa et al., 2008). Whether or not the public opinion have been properly listened to and depending on the amount of alternative choices available to end-users, the impact of PPPs on public participation and democratic decision-making requires further examination. In addition, the resource-heavy structuring of PPP projects can exclude smaller actors operating in the field (Osei-Kyei and Chan, 2015). Because the type of partnership seems to have implications not only for public participation but also within the private sector, including PPPs in my research is justified.

2.6. Planning and participation

So far it has become evident that the question of power relations is at the very centre of global policy network research. From the planning perspective, it is justified to look at the issue of participation as it is closely related to issues of democracy.

Democratisation of societies and the increased impact of voting led to a need to isolate market economies from too much democratic oversight, and 'by demarcating a range of different economic problems that must be protected from too much democracy, these routine policy practices effectively create and reproduce little pockets of exceptionalism on a day-to-day basis' (Best, 2018, p. 3). When the state is being framed as a threat to neoliberal order, suppression of democratic decision-making can be justified as a way of stabilising and preserving current conditions.

The lack of public participation in the planning process only entered academic discussion from 1960s onwards (Huxley, 2013). As a movement, it can be seen as a result of its time: especially the civil rights movement and larger questions about people's right to participate in public life brought the issue into the mainstream. The idea of planners as objective and utilitarian experts started to be challenged as multiplicity of voices started to rise from within cities. Ethnic minorities and marginalised groups became more vocal about how the design (and disappearance) of public spaces was excluding them (Bickford, 2000).

Discussion on post-politics might not bring any practical guidance to planning, yet it emphasises the importance of power relations in shaping the planning climate (Kanninen, 2018). In the contemporary era of neoliberalisation and economisation new forms of exclusion have risen. As Vogelpohl (2018) argues, neoliberalism sees democracy as a problem because it stands in the way of free markets and even threatens their existence. Therefore it aims to influence decision-making and shape the attitudes of people. As stated earlier, the issue of land ownership is central to democracy, because the capitalist system needs some degree of democracy in the form of social control, e.g. in order to ensure cheap housing for its workforce (Harvey, 1973). Therefore the democracy-contradiction takes different forms depending on the local context, but is always present.

McGuirk (1995) argues that the main purpose of planning is 'to ensure social cohesion by creating a land use pattern and urban form that promotes and legitimates current social and property relations' (p. 64). In her research in Dublin she argues that public participation only takes place after planners have severely limited the amount of options the public may choose from. Meaningful participation is costly and inefficient due to large amount of resources it requires, and therefore creating an illusion that the public has a say on planning matters is not only more efficient but also good politics. When the scope of the discussion has been limited to a narrow range of options and participation concerning

alternatives is not allowed, the public might still feel that their opinions have been listened to, even if their opinions were only being asked in matters with limited importance.

In other words, 'in establishing "realistic" terms of reference for community engagement processes, the tendency [--] has been towards the limiting of opposition and the denial of alternative ways of thinking about the area's development as "unrealistic" and therefore unworthy even of consideration' (Raco at el. 2016, p. 236). When no meaningful discussion takes place, planning and participation become tools to pacify the public instead of empowering them.

In Finland LUBA 6§ guarantees citizens a right to participate in the planning process. However, the existence of informal planning instruments (Kanninen and Bäcklund, 2017), a tendency to ignore the multiplicity of local voices and stories (Wallin et al., 2018), the changing forms of governance (Bäcklund et al., 2017) and sustainable traveling planning ideas (Jokinen et al., 2018) have all been studied in the Finnish context with respect to planning participation. The research highlights the importance of institutional factors in enabling or permitting certain types of development, and exposes the 'profound tension between two parallel lines of planning: formal *statutory*, government-based land use planning accepted by representative democracy practices, and new informal, governance networks - based *strategic* spatial planning instruments with ambitious goals but ambiguous connections to both statutory plans, democratic control and the ideal of publicity' (Bäcklund et al., 2017, p. 7).

2.7. The great migration - Finnish planning history

Up until the two decades after the Second World War Finland was a predominantly rural county (Alestalo, 1986; Moisio, 2012). Limited job opportunities in cities slowed down urbanisation, but once it began the pace was unprecedented. In Helsinki the pulling factors were not only related to heavy industries but also increasingly to the service sector. Meanwhile, Finland was going through a structural change from a rural society almost straight to a post-industrial one, which illustrates the pace this change took place. Opportunities in the countryside greatly diminished and together with increasing white collar employment opportunities in cities, especially young people were uprooted from the countryside in a pace unmatched by any other Western country at the time (Alestalo, 1986). In 1950s, 10,000 people per year were moving to Helsinki (Schulman et al., 2000). Between 1965 and 1975, half a million new apartments were built nationwide and 200,000 people moved to a new municipality every year (Stjernberg, 2017).

Providing housing to all newcomers proved problematic. The city of Helsinki had not prepared a proper plan, and building new neighbourhoods became a responsibility of big construction companies, referred to as ‘grynders’, which had already been buying vast land areas from the outskirts of cities. The deals, called ‘aluerakentamismenettely’ (roughly translated as ‘area construction procedure’) were simple: the city provided plans for the land owned by grynders or by the city, and grynders took care of the construction of housing and infrastructure and were able to sell these properties afterwards (Schulman et al., 2000). This period coincides with technological advances in producing building materials and as a result the new neighbourhoods were often built using ready elements on cheap land to maximise profits. Architectural innovation during this period was only a secondary concern, and priority was given to maximising efficiency (Stjernberg, 2017). Also the price of land was

prioritised at the cost of keeping a uniform city structure, meaning that many of the new suburbs were built on the outskirts of Helsinki. Finnish word ‘lähiö’ has come to describe built areas which are separated from the urban fabric and which largely rely on job opportunities elsewhere in the city (Stjernberg, 2017).

A more organised arrangement was agreed from late 1960s onwards. Social mixing became a policy around this time, while planning became more project-oriented, coinciding with the international trends of the era. This time the city had more control and was coordinating projects often involving several public and private bodies. Large-scale projects would not have been possible without city’s land ownership, which guided the direction of the city’s expansion. Successful coordination between stakeholders also meant that projects like Haaga-Vantaa included a suburban rail network, which connected areas to the city centre and to each other (Schulman et al., 2000).

Planning capitalism, as Keynesianism was referred to in Finland at the time, enjoyed wide political support (Hankonen, 1994). Because of the geopolitical climate of the era, it was important to make the distinction between authoritarian socialist planning economies in contrast to socialist capitalism, where the state did not directly control decision-making but was able to influence it e.g. by offering tax incentives to private corporations (Ahlqvist and Moisio, 2014; Hankonen, 1994). The resulting model was influenced by planning economies and business management and the goal was to make planning more efficient and economically viable (Schulman et al., 2000). Close ties between politicians and the banking sector influenced how favourably banks saw the mass production of housing, and the banks were quick to adopt and approve a new funding model. This meant that banks were funding both grynders looking to secure long term loans for construction projects as well as future residents. High density was only desirable in the city centre and the goal of planning was to protect a loose structure outside the centre (Hankonen, 1994). In this sense the trend of

building outside the city core continued, only this time new neighbourhoods and their locations were planned with more intent.

Aspirations to create an internationally recognised city, capable of competing on a global field were strong within the planning community (Hankonen, 1994). Compact city ideology (for the city centre), and a European model of extensive public transport network (to connect the scattered urban fabric) were both enjoying strong support. The development of multidisciplinary vision was at least partially driven by technological advances in the construction field (Hankonen, 1994). On the eve of change, faced with population models which predicted unprecedented migration to southern cities, decision-makers understood that all disciplines had something to contribute if the impact was to be mitigated.

In construction, a shift from bricks to concrete enabled more efficient large-scale production of housing. The obsession towards efficiency and increasing the performance of the construction process, as well as using ready elements - international ideas presented to Finnish professionals in a conference in London in 1962 - came to enjoy strong cross-sectoral support, and resulted in mass-production of element houses made from prefabricated elements (Hankonen, 1994). The desire to adopt new technologies and combine the knowledge of all academic disciplines in order to adequately respond to the challenges posed by the structural change is even in hindsight tremendously progressive thinking.

2. Methodology

In the previous chapter I reviewed planning history from the perspective of cross-sectoral interaction, introduced the key actors and terminology and placed the study in international context. Relevant planning history of Helsinki was discussed in order to shed light on the local context in which interaction takes place. I have also explored the potential implications the development of planning machines has for democracies. While cities like Helsinki and London are quite different because London is one of the focus points of real estate investment worldwide and their political climates are considerably different, I am interested in understanding how the consultancies and construction companies operating in Helsinki are influencing the actions of the city planning department by importing global planning trends. In addition, I am hoping to better understand how large actors affect democratic decision-making and citizen participation.

Next, I will introduce my research methodology based on methods used in similar research conducted elsewhere. Justification for chosen methods is offered, and the key terminology used later in my analysis is presented.

2.1. Previous research on planning machines

Elsewhere, research on planning machines and GICs and their role in communicating traveling planning ideas has been conducted using a mix of methods. Common methods in the papers I have cited in the literature review include combining an analysis of publicly available documents and interviewing actors involved. Using case studies is common,

illustrating the country-specific or even more local nature of the phenomenon studied. It is 'through researching the conditions of the emergence of consultants in particular contexts we can begin to understand the particular shape global policy networks take and how they influence global policy' (Prince, 2012, p. 190). Local planning legislation places boundaries for companies wishing to operate in any given locality and understanding how they adapt to it and navigate in this legislation offers deeper insight into what their impact on the planning field is. To some, document analysis is simply not enough if one wants to understand the functioning of actors within global policy networks (Prince, 2012).

2.2. Actor network theory

Actor network theory (ANT) was mainly developed by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law (Ritzer, 2005). ANT encompasses a large (and somewhat loose) collection of approaches, which look at the interaction of human and non-human actors in relation to each other, also on a macro-level. In ANT actors do not exist in isolation, but the way the network and interaction changes and behaves affects all actors across the network. Regarding planning, the network covers private and public planning sector actors both nationally and internationally, as well as the media, general public and researchers trying to understand their study subjects. Flows of ideas cross national borders and shape a web of ever-changing power relations between actors.

Using ANT, the actors are considered to be single entities whose actions affect other entities' actions and responses, engaging them in a 'conversation'. The results of the conversation materialise as master plans, city strategies, policy briefs, consultations and investments. Because my focus is the macroscale city-wide planning environment, such an

approach can be argued to be extremely useful in understanding the role of different actors and their 'voices' in the negotiations taking place.

ANT also offers powerful tools for understand different actions taking place in the network. The term most relevant for my research is *translation*. To 'translate is to make two words equivalent. But since no two words are equivalent, translation also implies betrayal: "traduction, trahison". So translation is both about making equivalent, and about shifting. It is about moving terms around, about linking and changing them.' (Law, 2007, p. 5). During translation the meaning of the word is altered as it is applied to a new context and the new association is then actively promoted. After successful translation, the network will balance itself and the resulting power relations can be analysed. The actual power seems to be in the relationship between actors rather than in actors themselves (Murdoch, 1996), which is why concentrating on their relationship is important if one wants to understand the power relation between them.

As implied in ecologisation research, sustainability has been inducted in planning terminology and is therefore a successful example of translation. As argued earlier, it has been so successful that it transcends party politics and can hardly be credibly contested (Gunder, 2006). At the same time 'the danger of translation is that one language will dominate the debate and thus define the terms of the solution', of which ecologisation is a warning example (Campbell, 1996, p. 306).

Articles I have most frequently cited so far (most notably Jupe and Funnell, 2015) use Actor Network Theory (ANT) to guide their analysis and interpret their results. They also introduce *purification*, the part of the translation process 'which progresses ideas towards their acceptance' (Jupe and Funnell, 2015, p. 69). Both terms have been used in my data analysis. For Healey (2013) ANT functions as a tool which can help the researcher focus their

analysis, and it arguably has value in trying to track how international planning ideas become adopted and adapted by public sector planners all over the world.

2.3. Research methods

While the focus of this research is the contemporary era rather than the past, a vast review of the changing planning history of Helsinki was necessary in order to understand how the political climate has changed. Understanding the growth of private sector actors on a field which has changed considerably in the last few decades as a result of globalisation was particularly important. Combined with readings from international case studies and wider academic planning literature, and applying methods used in case studies with similar focus, five (5) persons from the leading consultancies and construction companies were contacted for a semi-structured interview. Similarly, another five from the public sector in Helsinki, namely city politicians and planning officials were contacted. In the process I also consulted university scholars knowledgeable about the topic; some of the informants were referred to me by them.

My initial plan was to organise two group interviews where participants from both sectors could have directly interacted with each other, but overlapping schedules meant that participants were interviewed individually with the exception of two participants from the same company who were interviewed together. The approach has its benefits and shortcomings: the amount of collected data will be larger, but the interaction between participants, potentially open to analysis, cannot be observed.

The actual recruitment process was a mixture of judgment sampling and snowballing. It was unrealistic to assume that everyone would accept my invitation to be interviewed,

therefore other relevant people were explored when necessary. Out of the first ten invitations, seven participants (two from the public sector and five from private sector) were recruited. During the interview process, several participants also suggested people who they deemed to be fit informants for my research. One public sector participant was referred to me by someone who declined to be interviewed.

In the end, nine participants were recruited. Five were from the private sector, three from the public sector, and one person had recently switched from the public to the private sector. The contacted private sector participants represent key actors in Helsinki area, who have been involved in new planning and construction projects. The interviewees are in senior positions in Project Development, Urban Development or similar titles related to urban planning. The interviewed public sector participants are high-ranking city planning officials or city politicians with a career in planning.

2.4. Processing interviews

Before recording the interviews, all respondents were asked whether they want to be recorded and anonymised. All respondents agreed to be recorded, and two persons wished to remain anonymous. Recorded interviews were then transcribed, and the resulting nearly 100 pages of interview material were coded for further analysis.

The coding was done in two stages, closely following the process described by Bazeley (2013). Initial *open coding*, during which words closely related to my research questions and themes of the literature review were selected as codes led to a second stage involving more *focused coding*, a result of an in-depth study of the interview material. The resulting around 60 codes were then divided into groups and analysed using computer

assisted qualitative data analysis software. Tables showing the frequency and co-occurrence of the most frequent codes were produced in order to aid the reader in following the analysis.

2.5. Justification of methods, representativeness and limitations

Human geography has a long tradition of using interviews as a research method (Cloke et al. 2004). While positivists have traditionally seen interviews as situations where both participants have a strict set of roles and where the interviewer is somehow harvesting objective knowledge from the interviewee, the reality is more complex. Interviews are interactive encounters and recognising this makes it easier to evaluate the usefulness of what is gathered (Bazeley, 2013).

When it comes to the process of interviewing, interviewer might be the person guiding the situation with a set of questions, but the interviewee will decide how much they feel like sharing. The fruitfulness of an interview might change depending on how comfortable respondents feel in the setting where the interview takes place. Being aware of the mood of the interview can be extremely useful in understanding how much was said and what might have gone unsaid (McDowell, 2010). As McDowell (2010) argues, interviewing is after all an interpretative process, and using all available information to draw an accurate picture of the interview is highly recommended.

I must also be aware of my role as a university student. It is impossible to know how each interviewee saw me, yet it had a great impact not only on the interview, but also the recruitment process. The interaction will inevitably be different than interaction between researchers and professionals, and I need to be mindful of this.

Since the idea for my research rose partly from studying international academic discussion, the premise of my research is that it will contribute to the growing literature on the topic. By adopting methods used in similar studies I wish to accomplish two things: firstly, I wish to lend legitimacy to my own research as the methods I use have been successfully used elsewhere. Combining relevant methods from several sources further advances this objective. Secondly, using similar methods my research will seamlessly be tied into a larger international body of research on planning machines and the international circulation of planning ideas. Even if every case study is situated in a local context, together they form a picture of the workings of a large interrelated network.

3. Analysis

In previous sections I have introduced the theoretical framework in an international and Finnish context, discussed and justified my use of methods, including the process of coding and analysing my data. The aim of this section is to answer my research questions; the role of large actors, legislation and participation all contribute to the understanding of the planning climate in Helsinki. Where relevant, the findings are compared to international findings to see what the differences between Finnish and other contexts are.

I have let the results guide the structure of this section. The analysis has been divided into themes based on the initial research questions, namely institutional aspects and aspects related to cross-sectoral interaction. Institutional aspects encompass legislation and related issues, as well as the role and changing nature of the public sector. Legislation also has several layers, from city politics to national and international legislation, which operate on a hierarchical scale, much like the Finnish planning system. It is in this framework in which both sectors need to operate.

An important part of the interaction between sectors has to do with understanding the role of planning machines and how they are perceived by the public sector. Looking at different kinds of partnerships and the willingness to engage in them is highly relevant as an indicator of the changing field, as well as in understanding the power relations between sectors. Planning themes such as ecologisation and citizen participation and questions related to democracy also go under this section. Here the interaction is understood using ANT; actors are treated interrelated and the power relations between them dynamic within the legislation.

Figure 2. shows the most frequent codes in my research material, and Table 1. the results of the co-occurrence analysis. Due to the sheer amount of data, presenting the whole material would defy the purpose of being informative. Therefore, the I have selected only the

most frequent codes, and three codes with the highest co-occurrence (calculated by the data analysis software) connected to them. The full co-occurrence table can be found in the Appendix. In addition, the information from Table 1 was processed into a word cloud (Figure 3.), illustrating more clearly which words appear most often in connection to the popular codes.

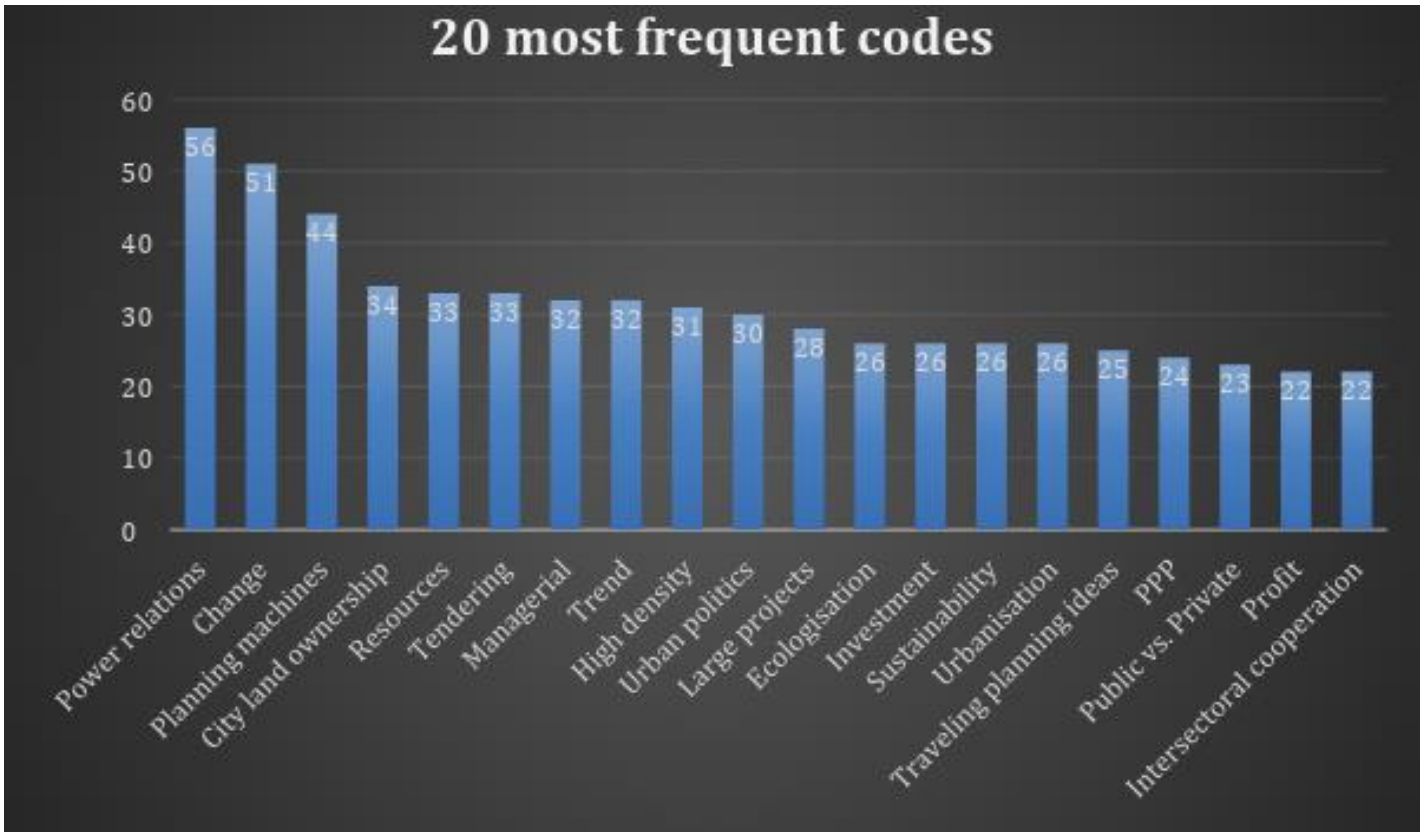

Figure 2. 20 most frequent codes in the analysis.

Code	Highest	2nd highest	3rd highest
Change	Urbanisation	Planning machines	Trend
City land ownership	Power relations	Private land ownership	Public vs. private
Ecologisation	Translation	Infrastructure	Sustainability
High density	Sustainability	Small apartments	Urbanisation
Intersectoral cooperation	Business relationship	Power relations	Successful cooperation
Investment	Urban politics	Financing	Profit
Large project	Planning machines	Tendering	Resources
Managerial	Business relationship	Successful cooperation	Intersectoral cooperation
Planning machines	Resources	Large project	Tendering
Power relations	City land ownership	Intersectoral cooperation	Public vs private
PPP	Successful cooperation	Financing	Intersectoral cooperation
Profit	Planning machines	Public vs private	Small apartments
Public vs. private	Power relations	City land ownership	Difference
Resources	Planning machines	Tendering	Large project
Sustainability	High density	Ecologisation	Infrastructure
Tendering	Resources	Large project	Planning machines
Traveling planning ideas	Purification	Trend	Sustainability
Trend	Ecologisation	Traveling planning ideas	Urbanisation
Urban politics	Politics vs. planning	Power relations	Managerial
Urbanisation	Change	High density	Sustainability

Table 1. Co-occurrence between codes.

Figure 3. A word cloud showing the words which appear most often in connection to the most frequent codes.

In addition, several codes relevant to the themes discussed in my literature review were selected separately from the co-occurrence table to be included in the analysis (Table 2.). Themes like participation and post-democracy are more indirectly than directly related to interaction between large private actors and the public sector and therefore appear less often in the interviews (meaning they did not reach the most frequently appearing codes), but are still related to my research questions. A co-occurrence pair *sustainability* - *hypocrisy* is also discussed later in the analysis, because it became a relevant theme raised by several respondents.

Code	Highest	2nd highest	3rd highest
Participation	Post-democracy	Transparency	NIMBY
Post-democracy	Participation	Transparency	Large project
Transparency	Participation	Tendering	Post-democracy
Legislation	Bureaucracy	Complexity	Managerial
Planning monopoly	Power relations	City land ownership	Complexity

Table 2. Other codes with their high co-occurring codes.

3.1. Institutional factors

3.1.1. Changing management

While transnational construction companies and land use planning consultancies operate in Finland, the largest actors are Finnish in origin. Even though the Finnish planning field might be less directly influenced by international actors than places indicated in international literature, both public and private sector actors are well aware of international planning discourses, and echo and adopt them. The importance of following global discussion is perceived to be crucial on both sides:

'People have woken up, they are active, they follow the planning field, architectural magazines, architectural websites on the internet. It is not only some journalists but also politicians who are well aware of how things need to look like at the moment. And it is clear that no one who has self-respect wants to look like a person of the old era, but they want to

showcase this new development, and have an outlook as dynamic as possible to the surrounding reality.' – Leading consultant, private sector

Change was one of the most frequently appearing codes in the analysis, partly because it can be used in connection to many of the themes discussed in the thesis, but also because the planning field is experiencing rapid change. *Urbanisation*, *trends* in general and *planning machines* were the codes appearing most often with *change.*

An example of change mentioned in the interviews was the professionalisation of the public planning sector. Even if the scale of the largest projects cannot be compared to the construction of new suburbs during the urbanisation period, some similarities do exist: whereas large-scale housing production during 'aluerakentamismenettely' was made possible by new techniques in producing ready elements, modern day large projects also apply cutting-edge technology. Both time periods also required extensive cross-sectoral cooperation. Personal relationships between politicians and the private industry were crucial for managing to convince financial institutions to invest in housing production during the urbanisation period. At the time, weekly Saturday sauna sessions between executives of financial institutions and key individuals of housing policy shaped the decision-making around urbanisation (Hankonen, 1994).

In today's terms weekly sauna meetings between a small circle of key individuals seem rather unprofessional, and do in no way resemble contemporary interaction. The shift is part of a larger shift towards professionalism in city management as well as in the private sector:

'Since the 1990s, the field has become a lot more professional. Now civil servants are running things. Back in the days… and this is also related to the management of cities that

they have become more professional. Political decision-makers are increasingly in a political role, take care of those things, and planning professionals take care of their things. Not like in the 1980s and probably to smaller extent in the 1990s, when politicians more or less wanted to participate. In this sense, at least big cities have become very professional.'

- Juha Kostiainen, Senior Vice President of Sustainable Urban Development, YIT

'When we know that things need to be done in a certain way, it becomes a norm, and in order to succeed you need to do things exactly like that. And that in turn increases the professional requirements for the planning or architectural company.'

- Leading consultant, private sector

While 'common good' has been defined by public sector actors in the past, the contemporary vocabulary has been created by GICs. In the analysis, managerial approach was closely associated with *business relationship* and *successful cooperation*, 'success' meaning perceived success. The city's role as a facilitator is perceived to be the key to successful cooperation; entrepreneurially-friendly environment in turn makes it easier and faster for consultants to operate.

This change is most directly observed in the city strategy for the years 2017-2021, aiming to make Helsinki 'the most functional city in the world'. Among other things this means becoming an attractive location for knowledge-based economy companies (Helsingin kaupunki, 2017). The strategy leaflet states that according to various studies Helsinki is one of the leading locations in Europe in terms of supporting innovation, attracting investment and entrepreneurial culture, as well as hosting the largest start-up cluster in the Nordic countries. To increase its attractiveness, 'Helsinki ups the pace of its own decision making capacity, capacity to predict and to react, and pursues an orderly change of rhythm in

everything it does. Helsinki will improve the efficiency of policy-making models and service processes and lighten bureaucracy. [--] Helsinki increasingly understands its role as the creator and enabler of possibilities' (Helsingin kaupunki, 2017, p. 16).

The language is a textbook example of 'knowledge-based economization' (after Moisio, 2018), which 'structures the ways in which political actors perceive what drives economic growth and development, as well as overall societal development' (p. 13). An important observation about this language is that the development towards knowledge-intensive societies is being portrayed as inevitable, having no alternatives. When the speeding up of processes becomes the role of consultants in an entrepreneurial city, even national and local politics need to take space within the frame of knowledge-based economies. As a result it is not only citizens who see their ways of meaningful participation diminished as they are only allowed to discuss options within a certain range, but also local governments. Faced with similar limitations, international pressure forces them to compete with other cities in order to attract the attention of GICs and consultancies in a system operating within knowledge-based economies.

Dr. Kaarin Taipale, a city politician and the former executive director of the Building Control Department, was critical of this development:

'I'm always teasing that whenever I see the word "agile", it means that something can be surpassed. That is neoliberal lingo. And "flexible", and "business-friendly". It is all part of "we can do this for corporations, because it is important for us so that we can collect taxes and pay nurses higher salaries", so that is the way it can be justified.'

Whether this trend is true also for the planning sector specifically is of great interest. Kaarin Taipale argued that the reason these trends are important is because 'the neoliberal business

management states that the public sector needs to function like a private one and learn from the private sector', an argument which echoes the findings of international studies and can help us understand the shift currently taking place in Helsinki.

Helsinki officially changed its organisational structure in 2017. The city now has a mayor and four deputy mayors, each deputy mayor being responsible for a bureau which were formed by combining entities based on the services they provide. One of the key goals is to separate political decision-making from the work of civil servants (Kaupunginkanslia, 2016). The change is in line with the argument of perceived professionalisation mentioned above, and demonstrates the desire of the city to respond according to the contemporary international trends.

Municipal planning monopoly in itself is a valid reason for maintaining a close cross-sectoral relationship, combined with what several respondents described as a small planning field where people regularly meet in a variety of professional settings. Change also explains why contemporary detailed planning process takes more time than it used to ten years ago, still achieving more in terms of allocated floorspace (Rinkinen and Kinnunen, 2017). The discrepancy is due to a shifted focus towards complementary construction (*täydennysrakentaminen* in Finnish), which utilises existing infrastructure instead of exploring entirely new sites. Complementary building sites are more complex in nature owing to their close proximity to built areas and the presence of multiple parties who all have interest in the site, or the sites in immediate vicinity (Rinkinen and Kinnunen, 2017).

Variations between municipalities exist because they have different resources for drawing detailed plans; some municipalities rely more on consultancies, whereas Helsinki has extensive resources to manage its own planning. Consequently, municipalities elsewhere might use external consultancies to provide assessments on a case-by-case basis, creating an opportunity for consultancies to operate within the system of planning monopoly.

Despite having the strings in their hands, municipalities have recognised the importance of large-scale projects and projects which are aligned with the strategic goals of cities:

‘The plan for Tripla was finished in a year, which is an astonishing accomplishment, and it was very important for the city of Helsinki. All the support, preparations and else, no one can say they did not act quickly. Of course they must prioritise which are important and which are lesser things, and they have their own strategies.’

- Juha Kostiainen, Senior Vice President of Sustainable Urban Development, YIT

‘What would be an example of a project which materialised very quickly? Amos [a modern art museum] happened pretty quickly. In a way [parties] found each other… the city had ambitions, the city wants tourists, and something these tourists can do, the city had Lasipalatsi and it was starting to be in bad condition, expenses piling up, and then comes a party which politicians agree is generally very appreciated, everyone thinks this is great. And then comes a private fund and pays for everything, so that was not a problem. Then we just start working on it. But usually all these things do not match.’

- Tuomas Hakala, project director, public sector

The pressure to react quickly to private sector propositions and the internal organisational change of Helsinki’s administration, justified using knowledge industry era terminology arguably presents an example of a shift to a more entrepreneurial position, where public sector planners need to adjust their work according to market-led principles. It is now their responsibility to increase the desirability of certain areas and create a planning environment which encourages private investment. This is even more important in the Finnish context,

where all planning decisions must be approved by municipal actors. A shift to a more entrepreneurial real estate policy, introduced earlier in the literature review, combined with organisational restructuring is another outcome of a larger shift, where 'each planning instrument unmistakably relates to others and supports their individual effectiveness through planning actions such as determining market interests, making plan adaptations, defining financial conditions and development requirements that support market decisions' (Heurkens et al., 2015, p. 644), meaning that the roles between sectors are becoming less distinguished.

The earlier historical review revealed a long-term trend in planning: arguing against common good has been difficult throughout time. Whether one was resisting a war-era state machine reorganising entire societies, or a modern call for ecologisation, their position has mostly been unpopular. Here ANT offers an important departure point: 'social structure is not a noun but a verb. Structure is not free-standing, like scaffolding on a building-site, but a site of struggle, a relational effect that recursively generates and reproduces itself' (Law, 1992, p. 385-6). In this way, we see 'common good' as a never-ending process between interrelational actors, where the meaning is constantly being renegotiated and updated through dialogue, contestation and reactions to resistance. What is implied is that power relations between actors are key to understanding the outcome of these negotiations.

Public planning sector seems to absorb global influence from two directions: global planning trends influence planners' work directly, while city's political decision-making, also influenced by wider global trends as discussed, guides the work of the planning department. But as pointed out by several interviewees, urban planning operates on a very different timescale from city politics. Master plans aim to shape the future of cities for many decades to come, whereas city politicians in Finland are only elected for a four-year term. That is one of the reasons why the Helsinki city strategy is only devised for four years at a time; from the

perspective of politics, concentrating on shorter term goals is more realistic if one wants to achieve those goals.

This does not mean that politics would not play a part in planning. According to my analysis, the tension between politics and planning was closely related to urban politics. All informants shared a view of the importance of local politics in particular:

‘The emphases and guidelines set by different municipalities do have an impact; whether they see developing city centres as important, or new neighbourhoods, attracting people or business operators to cities, and what is the time scale in which these ideas will materialise. Especially master plans, which control the entire urban land use, it is strategic, it is a central tool of urban politics. For example whether the plans have certain resources for flexibility. If a new actor, for example an industrial actor, wants to locate their operations in the city, and whether they can be given alternative site options based on the flexibility of the master plan.’

- Arja Sippola, Urban Development Director at Finnish Consulting Group

Therefore one can argue that while the public sector has become more professional, the influence of local politics in planning is still important. Due to professionalisation, the influence is perhaps even more easily visible: whereas politicians were more directly involved with the work of planning officials in the past, contemporary politics guides the planning department using official channels, making the power relation between politics and planning more distinguishable.

3.1.2. Procurement legislation

The procurement process is one of the most tangible examples of institutional factors. It was frequently mentioned in the interviews and therefore demands further scrutiny. Its guidelines are set in EU-wide legislation, which states that a process of competitive tendering must take place if the value of procurement exceeds the threshold set in national law (Finlex, 2016). For building contracts, the national threshold is 150,000 euros, and the EU threshold is 5,186,000 euros. If the value exceeds national threshold but is below the EU threshold, lighter guidelines for competitive tendering must be followed.

Given that Helsinki's city strategy includes an intention to build 26,000 new apartments (an annual floor space of 600,000-700,000 sq meters) during its four-year strategy, procurement legislation has immense relevance for the construction industry. The procedure was criticised for its heaviness:

'The problems of competitive tendering are probably more related to the know-how of tendering. We organise incredibly complicated tenderings- or the public sector organises incredibly complicated tenderings, where - oh my goodness - the recipient party, I feel sorry for them, they have to fill in all sorts of forms and coupons, and if there is a minor mistake, they are disqualified. The tendering process was created so that the private sector actors could be equally involved based on their skills, and I am not sure if we have perfectly accomplished that.'

- Tuomas Hakala, project director, public sector

'In a way, it has brought stiffness to some things. If we have to move ahead with a process quickly, the tendering process is quite slow, complicated and difficult. But we have these

framework agreements [*puitesopimus* in Finnish], which we can make for a longer time period, and also the procurement threshold, when we have to organise competitive tendering, and we have lifted those thresholds recently, so that it is possible to make acquisitions without prior call to competition [the process is called *suorahankinta* in Finnish]. So I see it is working OK, I do not see many [problems] in it.'

- Master planner, public sector

The process has affected how big construction companies operate. Toni Kankare, the Project Management Director at SRV says that the procurement procedure has made them consider gravitating towards private land ownership. That is because negotiating between other 'business partners' is more straightforward, and the terms are clearer. Juha Kostiainen, Senior Vice President of Sustainable Urban Development at YIT, also argues that migrating towards different forms of partnerships, especially *Allianssimalli* [alliance model] (which will be discussed shortly) produces more desirable outcomes. The value of the arrangement comes from being able to discuss in a more transparent manner, as the negotiating parties are on the same side of the table.

In the analysis, *planning machines* and *public vs. private* (meaning the conflict between the two sectors) were the codes with the highest co-occurrence with *profit*, reflecting the fact that public sector planners need to factor a vast number of interests in their planning decisions, which is potentially problematic to private sector actors. As Timo Henno, the Construction Development Manager at SRV elaborates:

'I must say that in Helsinki the city planner does listen to the commissioning party. They will not just tell us how it is going to be. They work interactively, consider both parties. But the planner does not have an economic responsibility, whereas the developer, it is partly based on

economic algorithms. So at some point it is clear that the planner does not have that economic responsibility. They can put things on the table without considering the economic impact. So that makes it slightly more complicated, but it has still been possible to discuss and get certain things into the plan.'

In the analysis, *resources, tendering* and *planning machines* all had a high co-occurrence with each other. If extensive know-how and resources are required even when a company wants to take part in tendering, the process can unintentionally exclude smaller actors. More research must be conducted to confirm the effects on small actors, but some of my respondents were able to offer some insight from their perspective. Toni Kankare estimates that a submission can cost between 20 and 40 thousand euros for the consortium which submits it, and Timo Henno further elaborates:

'These are heavy processes, so it is a significant expense for small businesses. One has to think about the money they are going to invest, and whether that will be something which is going to bring back that money. [--] When one talks about the price of construction, there are these expenses which come before the submission, and one must find this money from somewhere.'

Arja Sippola had a similar argument:

'There are certainly some elements, in projects in which the size matter and larger scale references, and in these cases smaller actors are forced to step aside. It has a lot to do with what the contents of the tendering and what they [the client] are after. I cannot really say what the influence has been on the consulting field, whether some actors have had to step aside and others advanced in return. But the procurement process is arduous, and has those

enormous piles of documents. Earlier it was possible to directly commission someone who you felt was good and able, and that saved a lot of resources.'

Even if the city had more interest in making the process more flexible and lighter, they would still need to operate within the national and EU-wide legislative framework, which means their hands remain tied to an extent. It serves as a concrete example of how legislation affects the planning field and the planning process in particular, and illustrates why research on the issue must be done on a case-study basis. It also exposes undesired adverse effects of the EU procurement legislation, the aim of which was to combat potential misuse of public funds, but which has created new bureaucratic hurdles (Teisman and Klijn, 2000).

3.2. Interaction and cooperation

3.2.1 Planning machines

In relevance to planning machines, large-scale production of contemporary magnitude calls to question the ability of contractors to successfully execute projects. International literature has argued that GICs have a role in shaping the political environment around planning, as well as introducing global planning trends into local environments. As corporations situated within a given national context (planning legislation), planning machines are the embodiment of these ideas, and they 'exist to push through development of a particular kind as quickly as possible and in ways that are unencumbered by disruptive and unpredictable political activism' (Raco et al. 2016, p. 218). Moreover, safeguards which have been put in place to protect the public (or local in the case of construction projects) interest, have eventually created new markets for consultancies. As mentioned earlier, research looking into public-private partnerships as

an instrument of effective project design found out that large consortiums are statistically more likely to succeed in delivering projects in a manner they have promised (Osei-Kyei and Chan, 2015). This is because they are arguably 'equipped with strong technical, operational and managerial capacity' (Osei-Kyei and Chan, 2015, p. 1342).

The largest projects currently under construction are unprecedented in the Finnish context (Arola, 2015), requiring exceptional resources from those successfully executing such projects. In the analysis of my material, *planning machines, resources* and *large project* were all closely linked, implying that large companies are strongly associated with similar qualities as their counterparts elsewhere. When asked about the strengths which help contractors win tendering, informants talked about having a reputation and the importance of track record and references, which have come to bear ever more importance in judging the competence of a building contractor:

'SRV is a developer and contractor of a certain size, and one cannot dismiss the references we have. We have quite a track record, and we have shown many times that we are able to finish complicated and challenging projects.'

- Toni Kankare, Project Management Director, SRV

'Well all the large [contractors] are in a similar position, but if one looks at us… what types [of projects] we have had, there have been particularly complicated and innovative projects. If one thinks about large projects, there are some in which not many others have believed in, but we have managed to finish them with reasonably good results.'

- Timo Henno, Construction Development Manager, SRV

While the city has a desire to push forward projects which advance the goals of the city strategy with the help of the private sector, it also wants to protect its interests. Here, a wide set of codes needs to be considered together in order to understand how planning machines operate in Helsinki. *Power relations*, the most common code of the material has the highest co-occurrence with *city land ownership*, *intersectoral cooperation* and *public vs. private*, exposing the conflict between sectors. Other codes closely associated with *power relations* are *planning monopoly*, *urban politics* and *participation.* Keeping in mind that *planning machines* are associated with *profit*, a dynamic is revealed.

The relationship between public and private sectors is such a complicated matter, because the planning climate in which the largest companies operate is heavily influenced by institutional factors. Besides the procurement procedure discussed earlier, also Land Use and Building Act has great importance. Municipal planning monopoly makes it possible for the city to further its more entrepreneurial interests (the managerial role was associated with successful cross-sectoral cooperation) on one hand, while protecting its interests concerning social and other issues on the other. In terms of sovereignty, building on municipal land gives the city the strongest possible institutional backing, which is why *city land ownership* was most closely associated with *power relations*, *private land ownership* and *public vs. private*, a combination which speaks of conflict.

When the terms in which the private sector can participate in planning are strongly influenced by institutional factors, competition intensifies. In the competition for contracts, the advantage of having all the knowledge ‘under the same roof’ compared to having a network of cooperating parties might be small, but significant enough to give an edge in a field, which has become increasingly more professional:

‘It has slowly led to a direction that these [companies] have become vastly more professional, and then there is the constant tightening of planning deadlines. When it is possible to do faster, remove all the extra. The deadlines are incredibly tight. Now surviving that requires a very well-oiled infrastructure. All this costs money and requires a certain unit size and dynamic within the business. [In Finland] our planning commissions have concentrated to certain firms. All the interesting, large-scale and grandeur commissions go to certain firms.’

- Leading consultant, private sector

‘Finding partners always requires a bit more work when the project is being developed, especially when we are talking about tendering. It requires a bit more energy from the leading party, meaning the consultancy, to write up the bid and find suitable professionals. Well, we have specialists in this country, smaller actors as well, we connect them into a suitable structure and network. I have experience that it can work, but as I said, it is a great advantage to have all that in the same building, and that way we can write up bids less painfully.’

- Arja Sippola, Urban Development Director at Finnish Consulting Group

Therefore the professionalisation of the field and the introduction of procurement legislation seem to have aided large actors in gaining an edge over smaller actors within the private sector. However, at the same time legislation has helped the public sector in Helsinki maintain its strong position and advance all of its strategic goals. While large actors are important for the city strategy, the power relations between sectors remain somewhat unchanged.

3.2.2. Partnerships

A set of questions related to PPPs were asked during the interviews, exploring the variety of ways sectors cooperate, including cross-sectoral partnerships and the forms they take in the Finnish context. How interaction and cooperation had changed over time was important for comparing Finnish development to international examples. As argued earlier in the literature review, cross-sectoral cooperation has been promoted by both sectors and PPPs in particular are seen as a way to improve risk management and effectively use the strengths of both sectors (Tang et al., 2010). Fair and balanced risk-sharing was the single most important success factor of PPPs (Osei-Kyei and Chan, 2015).

The analysis shows that PPPs were associated with *successful cooperation*, meaning that partners on both sides perceive partnerships to have desired outcomes. However, *financing* was another code with a high co-occurrence, implying that also financial resources are an important factor in PPPs.

The partnership type most commonly mentioned in the interviews was *Allianssimalli* [alliance model], which is a form of partnership considered to be fair as it brings all the parties involved on the same side of the table. In an ideal case, the aim is to achieve full transparency through risk-sharing, set clear goals for costs, create a production timetable which all parties agree on, and set up a management structure for the project (Yli-Villamo and Petäjäniemi, 2013). The constructor is also responsible for looking after the finished project for a certain number of years specified in the contract. This is why PPP in the Finnish context is often called *elinkaarimalli,* 'a lifecycle model'.

As elaborated earlier, in Finland PPPs have mostly been used in infrastructure projects as a way to increase productivity (Yli-Villamo and Petäjäniemi, 2013). The incentive for the public sector is to avoid ballooning costs, and for the private sector the incentive is to

finish the project on time without exceeding the budget which entitles them to a bonus. The model is argued to be ideal for large-scale projects where delivering on time and minding the budget is imperative. It encourages constant innovation and is argued to make the most of available resources, because private sector actors can use their strengths instead of tailoring a proposal for competitive tendering where they might need to fulfil requirements put forth by the client.

However, these characteristics make Allianssi a resource heavy model. In projects worth hundreds of millions of euros the benefits of having all parties on the same side of the table arguably outweigh potential disadvantages, but both the structure of Allianssi as well as its resource-heavy nature strongly imply that only actors with sufficient resources can take part in such projects (Yli-Villamo and Petäjäniemi, 2013). Medium sized construction companies have already voiced their concerns about losing out if Allianssi becomes more widely adopted (Mölsä, 2017).

3.2.3. Ecologisation and densification

Ecologisation was used as an example of a trend which has been adopted by the planning field. I wanted to understand its effects in Helsinki particularly from the perspective of how it has been combined with the continuous growth of Helsinki city region envisioned in the city strategy. Examples mentioned in international literature included themes such as compact cities, which according to its supporters ‘represents a quintessential physical response to many urban problems, such as land consumption in fringe areas, energy and resource waste, air pollution, accessibility, and social segregation. It is practically their synonym for the sustainable city’ (Neuman, 2005, p. 17). Densification was also one of the key themes in the

new Helsinki masterplan, alongside with strengthening the public transport network and moving away from car-dependency (Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto, 2016).

Based on the analysis, the code *traveling planning ideas* was most closely associated with *purification*, illustrating that the goal of these ideas is to redefine the meaning of certain terminology. More specifically, ecologisation as an example of a traveling planning idea had the highest co-occurrence with *translation*, illustrating how sustainable development in Helsinki is taking shape as its meaning is being renegotiated.

All interviewees were supportive of ecological development for a wide range of reasons; environmental arguments often went hand-in-hand with being resource-wise. Accordingly, the traditional way of designing cities around extensive car-based mobility infrastructure is a waste of resources which one cannot afford when cities are growing inwards and one must make the most of available space without forgetting liveability.

When asked about its compatibility with other local political themes, ecological development was unanimously understood to support wider aims of the city strategy, because making the city more compact increases also its competitiveness and attractiveness:

‘That planning is a result of situation in which not only the planning party but also decision-makers are aware of the requirement to be constantly at the dynamic forefront of what is happening. And that is not only the talk of Vapaavuori [the current mayor], but we have had that before. We are more and more clearly aware of the competitive environment. Or let’s say that countries do not compete with each other, economic areas do. And Helsinki must compete with other economic areas; Stockholm, Tallinn, Copenhagen is there as well. It requires that we constantly trim and improve the economic and physical conditions of being, living, and acting. We need to be at the forefront also immaterially: city planning, ecological aspects and all the contemporary knowledge must be cutting-edge and we must be able to

export it from Helsinki so that others can also see we are at the forefront. This kind of thinking has directed the new master plan and different city strategies and strategies for sustainable development and so on.'

- Leading consultant, private sector

'Maybe I'm biased, but I think that Helsinki is seen as a forerunner. There is a lot of international interest focused on Helsinki, for example towards the new masterplan. People are visiting all the time, we hold presentations, they want to know how we do it. Also the housing policy has been of interest. But I'm sure plenty of things affect that. We want to benchmark and learn from other cities, we constantly compare. We had a network of Nordic capitals, which came together yearly and updated each other on strategic city planning, urban planning more broadly, transportation planning, and where we are headed. So we have interaction at that level.'

- Master planner, public sector

Densification, which in turn is argued to support competitiveness and growth, does not contradict other strategic goals. Here the similarities between responses implied that 'translation' had indeed taken place, and the narrative of ecologisation had been adopted on both sectors. But even if high density and ecological planning were celebrated, many informants criticised the hypocrisy of contemporary development and argued that the contemporary discussion about sustainable way of life is one-sided and absurd. Both institutional factors and individual choices were criticised, and they were seen as separate yet intertwined problems which need to be solved simultaneously.

Several informants pointed out that even if the debate on densification has concentrated on criticising small apartments (a code which appears in connection to *high*

density and *profit*), planning alone cannot solve all sustainability issues, because individual consumption as well as energy questions and social policy are all related to the issue. For example, designing and building energy-efficient housing fails to achieve much as long as Helsinki continues to receive more than half of its energy from burning coal, as it does today (Helen Oy, 2017).

Similarly, extensive road networks are endemic of Finnish cities and transport planning which has relied heavily on creating ideal conditions for car-based mobility has also advanced urban sprawl (Lampinen, 2015). Even if the attitudes towards cars penetrating city centres have been changing since the 1970s, the recent Supreme Administrative Court decision to repeal parts of the new Helsinki master plan raises fresh inquiries about the rights of motorists. The repeal in question concerns 'city boulevards' which would have restricted the flow of cars entering the city centre, slowing down rush-hour traffic by 5 to 20 percent. The plan was interpreted to be against the 'motorway' status designated to these roads in the regional plan (Korkein hallinto-oikeus, 2018). While the power relation between municipal and regional scales is outside the scope of this thesis, the decision serves as an example of how municipal planning operates within certain institutional preconditions.

For the same reason one cannot assume that compact cities would automatically solve the problem of unsustainability. When the transportation problem has been solved, compact cities still need to tackle consumption. According to Statistics Finland (2019), the most expensive apartments (euros per square meter) in Finland are in the Helsinki city centre, and wealthy people have more lavish consumption habits when it comes to consumption excluding basic needs (Heinonen, 2012; Statistics Finland, 2014). In the words of one informant, 'living in detached housing is good as long as one does not have the habits of a hipster from Helsinki'. But even if compact urban fabric is not a guarantee of sustainability, well-planned compact cities provide an opportunity for a more sustainable way of life.

According to some respondents, branding Helsinki as an ecological city does not offer any advantages since everyone else claims to be ecological as well, but the claim must be made nonetheless. Therefore assessing whether contemporary development has alternatives is not straightforward. Keeping in mind that ecological themes directly and indirectly support other strategic themes, searching for alternative ways to achieve sustainable urban form proves problematic. While several informants acknowledged that Helsinki does have space to expand on the edges, it was not considered a resource-wise exercise. Instead, benefiting from existing infrastructure and services was seen as the economically and ecologically sound solution, much in line with the new masterplan and compact city literature.

Private sector informants also argued for increased flexibility in the planning system, which would increase the resiliency of urban areas and offer quicker ways to respond to changes in the society. The argument was that in terms of wider guidelines it is useful to create master plans which try to foresee and influence conditions several decades into the future, but planning everything down to the last detail is not wise use of resources. Accordingly, from the perspective of the private sector, certain responsiveness to wider economic and political climate is desirable.

3.2.4. Democracy

The final and strongly related question in my empirical material is the state of democracy. In international literature, planning machines are credited with their ability to finish large-scale projects efficiently regardless of the opposition (Raco et al., 2016). In addition, the consensus around ecological planning has said to reach post-political dimensions, where the methods of sustainable urban growth are not being sufficiently questioned and the current development lacks credible alternatives (Mössner, 2015).

In Finland Land Use and Building Act guarantees wide rights for citizen participation, from reviewing drafted development plans to filing complaints which need to be dealt with in court before construction can proceed. The process can be lengthy: according to planners, an average time to process complaints in court is 15.7 months, although variations between cities exist (Aula Research Oy, 2018).

In Eranti's (2017) research into land use development complaints in Helsinki using non-exclusively categories, 73 percent of complaints used a variety of public justifications to argue their case, compared to 46 percent who used individual interest such as property prices. Conversely, when asked about the greatest disadvantages of a delayed planning process (again non-exclusively categorising), only 44 percent of planners nationwide chose disadvantages to citizens, compared to 55 procent who chose disadvantages to business (Aula Research Oy, 2018). 42 percent cited lost investment, and the highest category was 'slowing down of housing production' at 61 percent.

The results can be interpreted in several ways. Firstly, it challenges the traditional role of planners as the sole body interested in common good and the role of citizens as NIMBYists, because also citizens use common good as an argument. Secondly, if we assume that common good is important to planners, they seem to approach delivering common good primarily through businesses and growth.

Because my thesis is focusing on GICs and the public sector, participation is being looked into from their perspective. Keeping this in mind, the informants had varying responses. Several only stated that it is true that planning themes and projects are being challenged by citizens and elaborated on how the legislative process works without further offering their opinion on it. Challenging development plans was also seen as a way to force city officials and politicians to justify the choices they have made and hold them accountable

for their decisions. One person argued that since the decisions are always political in the end, having that kind of oversight is healthy.

In the analysis, *participation* and *post-democracy* had the highest co-occurrence with each other, as well as with *transparency*. Furthermore, *NIMBY* was associated with *participation*, implying that professionals still imagine citizens as individuals pursuing their own interests. *Large project* was the third code closely associated with *post-democracy*, echoing international findings introduced in the literature review. In my data, one informant questioned the effectiveness of complaints especially in large projects. The multiplicity of voices and the long timescale in which projects are being planned and executed makes it complicated to accommodate everyone's interests. From this perspective, the fewer people involved the more straightforward the process will be. The most direct implication of the clash between planning and democracy were the words of one private sector respondent who was frustrated with the slow process, stating that creating a 'democratic vacuum' seems to be necessary in order to advance projects, especially if they are large in scale.

Because the majority of complaints are focused on projects of significant scale or strategic importance (again according to planners' perceptions), obvious tensions between planning and participation arise (Aula Research Oy, 2018). The most complicated projects already requiring vast resources are also the ones most likely to be delayed by complaints and therefore solving the problem is of great interest to several parties. The findings are compatible with international literature; the perceived strength of planning machines is their ability to minimise the impact of opposition to large projects. But since the strong institutional backing of municipal authority, post-democratic development would not be possible without public sector's approval. The city protects its interests when it comes to conflicting issues such as social mixing, but favours businesses when it comes to entrepreneurial matters where the goals are aligned.

Those who criticised participation, concentrated on larger institutional issues; a position which might reflect their role in the web of professional actors. The critique offered by my informants also reflects the view of the wider planning sector: more than half of planners who were questioned elsewhere think there is potential in making the complaint procedure more efficient (Aula Research Oy, 2018). While Land Use and Building Act is being rewritten, changes are actively pursued by organisations such as RAKLI - The Finnish Association of Building Owners and Construction Clients, presenting a wide variety of actors in the sector. In terms of participation, the aim is to strengthen the importance of proactive rather than reactive participation:

'It would be a great wish and aim if the influencing would happen on other forums besides complaining, so that the preparations and ideation involved participation. There are good tools for that, which are being used a lot in some cities, and less in others. The way I see it is that the largest cities are at the forefront, and genuinely fetch those ideas and want to receive feedback and knowledge from citizens. That is how it should be done, and not so that the participation happens while complaining.'

- Kimmo Kurunmäki, Director of Urban Planning and Infrastructure at RAKLI, private sector

The results also confirm and supplement research conducted in the Finnish context: changing forms of governance have implications for participation and democracy (Bäcklund et al., 2017). An entrepreneurial public sector navigates between formal and informal planning instruments in an effort to efficiently advance their strategic goals, which also include traveling planning ideas related to ecologisation (Jokinen et al., 2018; Wallin et al., 2018).

To conclude, the adoption of ecological planning themes is not problematic in itself, only when it is done at the expense of democracy. The tendency of international planning ideas to marginalise alternatives is also harmful to the goals it wishes to achieve, because democracy and resilience seem to be connected. If a resilient city is a heterogenous city able to respond to change, then a resilient city needs democracy, because 'optimization applied to only a limited set of interests – a certain industry, firm, institution, cultural facility, maximal returns or savings in the process - results in inefficiency. Such action would mean, for example, supporting heavily only one or a few industries in the city, or investing in a certain cultural institution ignoring the myriad small self-organizing networks.' (Partanen, 2018, p. 47). If one only listens to those with the strongest voice, the resulting undesirable type of homogeneity is harmful to resilience. Therefore, if any actors are given more opportunities, same should be applied to everyone else, including individual citizens and their organisations.

4. Conclusions

All in all, Helsinki presents a unique and exciting case study. Like half a century ago, the city is still responding to urbanisation, but now in an exceedingly connected global world. Helsinki is constantly assessed in relation to its closest neighbours and competitors, but regardless of the seeming similarities between Helsinki and other international cities especially in relation to contemporary development and their planning environment, its planning culture still has profound differences compared to other case studies.

As the analysis of the institutional factors and their impact on the planning sector and planning machines in Helsinki shows, the actions of planning machines shape the institutional factors in return. It is important to re-emphasise the intertwined nature of the issue; political decision-making produces discourses which shape the actions of actors operating in the given legislative and political framework, and these actions in turn influence political decision-making, which again shape the legislative framework. To rephrase Prince (2012): without studying the entire system with all its levels from within, it is impossible to observe the dynamic forces at play. Looking from the outside, one can only see the end-result.

The entire web of global policy networks is too vast to dissect and that was not the aim of my thesis either. But the principle guiding my research has been to understand this particular context and the roles of different actors in it, because 'through researching the conditions of the emergence of consultants in particular contexts we can begin to understand the particular shape global policy networks take and how they influence global policy' (Prince, 2012, p. 190).

What is evident is that the actors are highly reactive to each other's actions. As part of a global network of competing cities, Helsinki has adopted similar strategies to its closest

competitors. As a consequence, the role of the public sector has become considerably more managerial and therefore more proactive. They do not only react to changes in the market behaviour, they actively try to influence them. They need to outshine their competition and lure investment by creating a favourable business environment, by embracing traveling policy ideas and adapting them to the local legislative framework. As the flood of information increases, so does the pace of succeeding cycles.

This holds true for urban planning as well. Ecological planning and construction have opened up entirely new markets for those with the right resources. Yet the reason why environmental issues are high on the agenda might be because they 'have been seen by urban actors not as an end in themselves, but rather as risks that threaten economic growth. The process of ecological modernization at the urban scale fuses with the dynamics of neoliberalization' (Béal, 2012, p. 410). Besides opening up new markets, compact cities increase productivity because of concentrated human capital and knowledge exchange. Therefore many of the themes under sustainable urbanism fall in line with other goals of the city strategy, aimed at making Helsinki more attractive to investment.

The market-led expansion is however being criticised by actors from both sectors as hypocritical in its effort to try and solve the ecological problem purely using economic means. Yet because of our competition on the global playing field, there seems to be few alternatives. If we apply Laffin's (2015) definition of a post-democratic climate, in which the new managerial role of bureaucrats and increasingly market-led development are pivotal, or 'the reducing of democracy to elections, a post-parliamentarianism of making democracy behind closed doors and afterwards accepting political decisions as natural laws' as stated by Mössner (2015, p. 4), Helsinki can be argued to be moving towards a post-democratic stage. If people are only given options to participate within a certain range, their means for meaningful participation are diminished.

Even if many of the largest actors are Finnish, their planning vocabularies are still global. The adoption of traveling planning ideas and therefore the functioning of global policy networks were obvious in the strategic objectives. Since informants from neither sector were able to picture a credible alternative to contemporary development, ideas such as densification and ecologisation have already been translated and adopted to current planning vocabulary.

Helsinki stands out in international comparison because of two reasons: the city's land ownership and municipal planning monopoly. Planning monopoly (which all cities in Finland have) in itself is not enough to affect power relations, because as the interviews demonstrate, planning machines operate fluently in current legislation and have found ways to provide municipalities with services. But because Helsinki owns around 70 percent of its land and also has the available resources to do their own planning, it is in a stronger position compared to international counterparts. Therefore also the development evident elsewhere is less so in Helsinki.

Out of the policies relevant to the private sector (and relating to land ownership), particularly the embracing of social equality as central to the future of Helsinki has a strong impact. As stated by the city strategy, 'curbing the differentiation between population groups and neighbourhoods is high on the city's agenda. Maintaining social cohesion is vital for a good and competitive city also in the years to come. Ensuring comprehensive economic, social and ecological sustainability is one of the growing city's key goals' (Helsingin kaupunki, 2017, p. 21). Whether social mixing has produced wanted results or not is not necessarily relevant for the functioning of planning machines; rather it is the influence of social mixing policy to local planning field that makes a difference. As the city strategy places social cohesion as one of the cornerstones of a competitive city now and in the future,

one can only assume social cohesion is going to retain its importance in local politics, and the private sector must adapt accordingly.

Even if the public sector practices a more entrepreneurial real estate policy on matters important for the city strategy, the resulting planning climate is nonetheless one in which the strong position of the public sector has either almost entirely prevented or significantly slowed down the most negative effects of planning machines witnessed elsewhere, namely the considerable de-democratisation of planning processes in places like London. The public sector is able to protect its interests and enforce schemes such as social mixing, which in other circumstances might be harder to implement. Since public and private sector operate on different grounds and the public sector has a wide variety of other responsibilities besides economic interests, the position of Helsinki arguably aids them in pursuing their agenda and if that is to change, it will be through political means.

However, the new managerial nature of the public sector combined with a city strategy aiming at increasing attractiveness does provide grounds for cooperation which both sectors perceive to be successful. This in itself is not surprising as the purpose of managerial and entrepreneurial role is to forge a stronger cross-sectoral business relationship. A strong relationship and successful cooperation is indeed needed if Helsinki is to respond to the challenges posed by rapid urbanisation, much like 50 years ago.

Actor-network theory gives us an opportunity to interpret the actions and reactions of all parties involved as a dialogue. Not only the actual negotiations between parties, but also the actions of entire sectors resulting in plans, city strategies, policy propositions, consultations, building of new neighbourhoods and protecting certain green areas are responses to something, and will result in further reactions. Plans are commented by citizens, politicians and companies, hailed by some, criticised by others. In some cases the court will decide the legitimacy of planning decisions in the face of opposition.

In this dialogue, planning machines have a more established voice compared to smaller actors, let alone individual citizens for important reasons. Firstly, the contemporary discussion is saturated with terminology introduced by global intelligence corps, utilised and adopted by the planning machines. Secondly, while the public planning sector has arguably adapted its functioning to better suit the means of aforementioned discussion, at the same time they are also competing on a global scale against other cities, all of which want to attract investment and new development. Therefore their position is different from actors in the private sector, which are the ones being able to choose between these different legislative frameworks and political climates. Since the role of the public sector has become more managerial (and because of that), their effort to communicate using knowledge-era terminology is not surprising.

Unfortunately the pervasiveness traveling ideas is trying to create an illusion of no alternatives. However, Kanninen (2018) suggests that concentrating on post-politics underlines the role of power relations in planning practices, and is therefore useful in guiding the discussion. In the context of Helsinki this can mean recognising that the risks of de-politisation are present, and must be carefully taken into account in the drafting of the new Land Use and Building Act.

Since Helsinki has a long history of close cross-sectoral communication, there are good preconditions for avoiding the mistakes made elsewhere. A good guideline in combating de-democratisation is to remember that maximising resilience also requires a certain amount of self-organised networks and a healthy multiplicity of voices (Partanen, 2018). Beneficial translation between parties also requires a dialogue in which no one language has hegemony over others (Campbell, 1996); an argument first raised almost 60 years ago (Jacobs, 1961). In Finland the public planning sector has a pivotal role in managing this change because of its strong position.

This is not to say that improvements could not be explored. The current procurement legislation has been criticised elsewhere for the exact same reasons as it was criticised in the Finnish context: its lack of practicality results in wasting resources (Teisman and Klijn, 2000). Coincidentally, due to its resource-intensive nature, tendering in Finland seems to favour large companies. Simplifying the process was mentioned by both sectors as an effective way to reduce the wasting of resources, as well as a way to make the process more inclusive. However, it is unclear how much the process can be altered given that it is tied to EU-wide legislation. It is also worth mentioning that in the analysis *tendering* and *participation* had the highest co-occurrence with *transparency* implying that despite criticism, tendering does fulfil its intended role in increasing transparency.

When it comes to participation it is important to remember the difference between expectations and observed realities; providing means does not guarantee participation (Cornwall and Coelho, 2007). In theory, participation happens throughout the planning process as guaranteed by law, but since complaints still regularly stall projects one can only wonder whether the process could strive to be even more inclusive. Finding ways to lower the threshold of citizen participation is not enough: the effectiveness of a tool should be measured against its ability to reach groups traditionally thought to be the most hard to reach. Creating a sense of meaningful participation is imperative if the trap of post-democracy is to be avoided. At the same time, if it is possible to lower the rate of complaints without risking the democracy-aspect of participation, the interests of constructors are also being listened to.

Increased use of PPPs (when relevant), especially the Allianssi model seem inevitable as the model has been used in several large projects in recent years. Allianssi is also offered as a solution to the current economic climate with its tightening deadlines and increased competition. Allianssi model already has a strong track record in Finland, and according to the analysis it offers an alternative to traditional project management where power relations

and contradicting interests between sectors cause friction. In managing large and complicated projects, its use is justified and backed by successful examples. However, since the focus has been on risk-management factors and international comparisons, the tendency of PPPs to exclude smaller actors has been scarcely studied. Medium size actors have already voiced their concerns, and therefore more research must be conducted before one can better understand how PPPs shape the dynamic of the private sector.

PPPs do however hold potential in being more inclusive (Majamaa, 2008). PPPs have been criticised for their lack of end-user perspective (Majamaa et al., 2008), but it is possible to design projects with a stronger end-user focus, opening up new opportunities for participation. Even if new forms of partnerships are becoming the norm, the trend does not lead to further de-democratisation.

I am aware that there are no easy answers to any of the questions raised in this thesis, but all sides are encouraged to cooperate and take part in the discussion. As theorised by authors globally, the web of interrelations is a sum of its parts and dialogue can alter the dynamic between actors and affect the entire web; I hope to have demonstrated this to be true also in Helsinki.

Further research on spatial and temporal dimensions as well as scale is recommended. Several interviewees made references to cooperation with planning officials from other municipalities, often in comparison to officials in Helsinki. Therefore comparing the planning environment to another municipality, ideally using the framework put forth in my thesis, might better reveal the flexibility of the current legislation in making planning decisions. Furthermore, simply including smaller private sector actors, neighbourhood associations and NGOs would be an effective way to further research the democracy aspects touched upon on this thesis.

In addition, the new Land Use and Building Act offers a fantastic opportunity to understand the temporal dimension of planning environments. Studying the effects of the new Act in a few years' time using a similar methodology and focus would provide valuable comparative perspective, and further reveal the role of legislation in guiding planning. To my knowledge, such a temporal comparison in a fixed place has not yet been conducted anywhere.

Finally, even if the dynamic between different layers in the planning hierarchy was outside the scope of my thesis, research on the importance of scale is highly encouraged. Such research could focus on interaction taking place between different layers of the planning system, the impact of the possible restructuring of the current hierarchy, or changes in power relations linked to the new LUBA. At the regional level, the interaction between actors in a dialectic relationship, namely municipalities, regional councils and private actors could be studied. I argue that a similar cross-sectoral examination presented in this thesis would be appropriate to analyse the regional scale as well, as long as the actors are treated as entities. In addition, there is an abundance of research on city-regionalism, which explores different geographical scales and their power dynamics, but less so with an explicit focus on cross-sectoral interaction related to planning and the built environment.

Bibliography

Abel, J. R. (2012). Productivity and the density of human capital. *Journal of Regional Science, 52(4),* 562-586

Adams, D. (2010). Planners as Market Actors: Rethinking State–Market Relations in Land and Property. *Planning Theory & Practice, 11(2),* 187-207

Ahlqvist, T. and Moisio, S. (2014). Neoliberalisation in a Nordic State: From Cartel Polity towards a Corporate Polity in Finland. *New Political Economy, 19(1),* 21-55

Alestalo, M. (1986). *Structural change, classes and the state: Finland in an historical and comparative perspective*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki

Arola, H. (2015). Jättimäiset työmaat piristävät taloutta – tässä ovat Suomen suurimmat rakennuskohteet. (Online). *Helsingin Sanomat*. Retrieved from <https://www.hs.fi/talous/art-2000002874040.html>

Ashworth, G. J. and Voogd, H. (1990). *Selling the city: Marketing approaches in public sector urban planning.* London: Belhaven Press

Aula Research Oy. (2018). *Keskustelupaperi kaavoitus- ja valitusjärjestelmän tulevaisuudesta.* Retrieved from <https://www.rakli.fi/media/yhdyskunta/1118-keskustelupaperi-kaavoitus-ja-valitusjarjestelmasta-raportti-a4-final.pdf>

Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Los Angeles ; London ; New Delhi ; Singapore ; Washington: Sage.

Béal, V. (2012). Urban governance, sustainability and environmental movements: Post-democracy in French and British cities. *European Urban and Regional Studies, 19(4),* 404-419

Best, J. (2018). Technocratic Exceptionalism: Monetary Policy and the Fear of Democracy. *International Political Sociology, 12(4),* 328-345

Brenner, N. (2004). *New state spaces: Urban governance and the rescaling of statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bickford, S. (2000). Constructing Inequality: City Spaces and the Architecture of Citizenship. *Political Theory, 28(3),* 355-376

Bäcklund, P., Häikiö, L., Leino, H., and Kanninen, V. (2018). *Bypassing Publicity for Getting Things Done: Between Informal and Formal Planning Practices in Finland*. Retrieved from <http://tampub.uta.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/104207/bypassing_publicity_for_getting_2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Campbell, S. (1996). Green Cities, Growing Cities, Just Cities?: Urban Planning and the Contradictions of Sustainable Development. *Journal of the American Planning Association, 62(3),* 296-312

Campbell, H. (2002). Utilitarianism's Bad Breath? A Re-Evaluation of the Public Interest Justification for Planning. *Planning Theory, 1(2),* 163-187

Carroll, P. and Steane, P. (2000). Public private partnerships - sectoral perspectives. In: Osborne, S. P. (2000). *Public-private partnerships: Theory and practice in international perspective* (pp. 36-56). London ; New York: Routledge.

Cloke, P., Crang, P. and Goodwin, M. (2005). *Introducing human geographies* (2nd edition). London: Arnold

Cornwall, A. and Coelho, V. S. P. (2007). Introduction: Spaces for change? The politics of participation in new democratic arenas. In: *Spaces For Change? The Politics of Citizen Participation in New Democratic Arenas* (pp. 1-29). London: Zed Books

Davidson, M. (2007). Gentrification as global habitat: A process of class formation or corporate creation? *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 32(4),* 490-506

Diamond, J. (1997). *Guns, germs and steel: A short history of everybody for the last 13000 years*. London: Vintage

Eranti, V. (2017). Re-visiting NIMBY: From conflicting interests to conflicting valuations. *The Sociological Review, 65(2),* 285-301

European Investment Bank. (2005). *Evaluation of PPP projects Financed by the EIB*. Evaluation report.

Finlex. (2016). *1397/2016 - Laki julkisista hankinnoista ja käyttöoikeussopimuksista.* Retrieved from <https://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2016/20161397#Pidp447844448>

Fishman, R. (1982). Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier. In: Fainstein, Susan, S. and Campbell, Scott (2016). *Readings in planning theory* (4th edition) (pp. 33-59). Malden, MA Wiley-Blackwell

Glaeser, E. L. and Gottlieb, J. D. (2009). The Wealth of Cities: Agglomeration Economies and Spatial Equilibrium in the United States. *Journal of Economic Literature, 47(4),* 983-1028

Gunder, M. (2006). Sustainability - Planning's saving grace or road to perdition? *Journal Of Planning Education And Research, 26(2),* 208-221

Hankonen, J. (1994). *Lähiöt ja tehokkuuden yhteiskunta: Suunnittelujärjestelmän läpimurto suomalaisten asuntoalueiden rakentumisessa 1960-luvulla*. Espoo; Helsinki: Otatieto : Gaudeamus

Harvey, D. (2014). *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism*. London: Profile Books

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social justice and the city*. London: Edward Arnold

Healey, P. (2013). Circuits of Knowledge and Techniques: The Transnational Flow of Planning Ideas and Practices. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(5),* 1510-1526

Heinonen, J. (2012): The Impacts of Urban Structure and the Related Consumption Patterns on the Carbon Emissions of an Average Consumer. *Doctoral dissertations 25/2012*. Espoo: Aalto University publication series. Retrieved from <https://aaltodoc.aalto.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/4948/isbn9789526045368.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Helen Oy. (2017). *Energialähteet.* (Online). Retrieved from <https://www.helen.fi/yritys/energia/energiantuotanto/energianlahteet/>

Helsingin kaupunki. (2017). *Helsingin tilastollinen vuosikirja.* Keuruu: Otavan Kirjapaino Oy

Helsingin kaupunki. (2017). *The Most Functional City In The World: Helsinki City Strategy 2017–2021*. Retrieved from <https://www.hel.fi/static/helsinki/kaupunkistrategia/helsinki_city_strategy_leaflet.pdf>

Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto. (2016). *Helsingin yleiskaava - Selostus.* Retrieved from <https://www.hel.fi/hel2/ksv/liitteet/2018_kaava/YK_2016_Selostus_20160614_LISALEHDELLA.pdf>

Helsingin kaupunkisuunnitteluvirasto. (2015). *Helsingin yleiskaava - Vuorovaikutusraportti III, 6.10.2015,* Retrieved from <https://www.hel.fi/hel2/ksv/julkaisut/yos_2015-4.pdf>

Heurkens, E., Adams, D. and Hobma, F. (2015). Planners as market actors: The role of local planning authorities in the UK's urban regeneration practice, *Town Planning Review 86(6),* 625-650

Holden, E. and Norland, I. T. (2005). Three Challenges for the Compact City as a Sustainable Urban Form: Household Consumption of Energy and Transport in Eight Residential Areas in the Greater Oslo Region. *Urban Studies, 42(12),* 2145-2166

Huxley, M. (2013). Historicizing Planning, Problematizing Participation. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 37(5),* 1527-1541

Hyötyläinen, M. and Haila, A. (2018). Entrepreneurial public real estate policy: The case of Eiranranta, Helsinki. *Geoforum, 89,* 137-144

Jacobs, J. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities*. New York, NY: Random House

Jokinen, A., Leino, H., Bäcklund, P., Laine, M. (2018). Strategic planning harnessing urban policy mobilities: The gradual development of local sustainability fix. *Journal of Environmental Policy & Planning, 20(5),* 551-563

Jonas, A. E. and Moisio, S. (2017). City regionalism as geopolitical processes: A new framework for analysis. *Progress in Human Geography 42(3),* 350-370

Jupe, R. (2015). Neoliberalism, consultants and the privatisation of public policy formulation: The case of Britain's rail industry. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 29,* 65-85

Kanninen, V. (2018). Post-politics of (Scottish) planning: Gatekeepers, gatecheck and gatecrashers? – commentary to Walton. *Fennia: International Journal of Geography, 196(1),* 103-107

Kanninen, V. and Bäcklund, P. (2017). Kansalaisosallistumisen institutionaaliset rajat? In: Bäcklund P., Häkli J. and Schulman H. (eds) *Kansalaiset kaupunkia kehittämässä* (pp. 16-33). Tampere: Tampere University Press

Kaupunginkanslia. (2016). *Uudistuksen perusinfo, syksy 2016 Tällainen on Helsingin kaupungin uusi johtamisjärjestelmä.* Retrieved from <https://www.hel.fi/static/helsinki/liitteet/johtamisuudistus-syksy.pdf>

Klijn, E-H. and Teisman, G. R. (2000). Governing public-private partnerships - Analysing and managing the processes and institutional characteristics of public-private partnerships In: Osborne, S. P. (2000). *Public-private partnerships: Theory and practice in international perspective* (pp. 84-102). London ; New York: Routledge

Korkein hallinto-oikeus. (2018). *KHO:2018:151*. Retrieved from <https://www.kho.fi/fi/index/paatoksia/vuosikirjapaatokset/vuosikirjapaatos/1541580128040.html>

KS, J., Chowdhury, A., Sharma, K. and Platz, D. (2016). *Public-Private Partnerships and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development: Fit for purpose?* UN Department of Economic & Social Affairs Working Paper. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2016/wp148_2016.pdf>

Kortteinen, M. and Vaattovaara, M. (2015). Segregaation aika. *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka: 80(6),* 562-574

Laffin, M. (2016). Planning in England: New Public Management, Network Governance or Post-Democracy? *International Review of Administrative Sciences, 82(2),* 354-372

Law, J. (1992). Notes on the Theory of the Actor-Network: Ordering, Strategy, and Heterogeneity. *Systems Practice, 5(4),* 379-393

Leväinen, K. and Korthals Altes, W. (2005). Public Private Partnership in Land Development Contracts – A Comparative Study in Finland and in the Netherlands. *Nordic Journal of Surveying and Real Estate Research, 2(1),* 137-148

Liikenne- ja viestintäministeriö. (2008). *Liikennepolitiikan linjat ja liikenneverkon kehittämis- ja rahoitusohjelma vuoteen 2020. Valtioneuvoston liikennepoliittinen selonteko eduskunnalle*. Liikenne- ja viestintäministeriön julkaisuja 17/2008. Helsinki.

Liikennevirasto. (2013). *Public Private Partnership (PPP) Review*. Retrieved from <https://julkaisut.vayla.fi/pdf3/lr_2013_ppp_review_web.pdf>

Macleod, G. (2011). Urban Politics Reconsidered: Growth Machine to Post-democratic City? *Urban Studies, 48(12),* 2629-2660

Majamaa, W. (2008). *The 4th P - People - in urban development based on Public-Private-People Partnership*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://aaltodoc.aalto.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/4559/isbn9789512295852.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Majamaa, W., Junnila, S., Doloi, H. and Niemistö, E. (2008). End-user oriented public-private partnerships in real estate industry. *International Journal of Strategic Property Management, 12(1),* 1-17

Malmberg, L. (2016). *Jättihankkeita valituksillaan seisauttanut rakennuttaja syyttää Helsinkiä tonttien polkumyynnistä…* Helsingin Sanomat. (Online) Retrieved from <https://www.hs.fi/kaupunki/art-2000005513784.html>

Markusen, A. (1999). Fuzzy Concepts, Scanty Evidence, Policy Distance: The Case for Rigour and Policy Relevance in Critical Regional Studies. *Regional Studies, 33(9),* 701-717

McCann, E. (2011). Urban Policy Mobilities and Global Circuits of Knowledge: Toward a Research Agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 101(1),* 107-130

McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2010) Relationality/territoriality: toward a conceptualization of cities in the world. *Geoforum 41,* 175-184

McDowell, L. (2010). Interviewing: Fear and Liking in the Field. In: DeLyser, D., Herbert, S., Aitken, S., Crang, M., McDowell, L. (2010) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography* (pp. 156-171). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Mcguirk, P. M. (1995). Power and Influence in Urban Planning: Community and Property Interests' Participation in Dublin's Planning System. *Irish Geography, 28(1),* 64-75

Miller, B. (2016). Sustainability Fix Meets Growth Machine - Attempting to Govern the Calgary Metropolitan Region. In: Keil, R., Hamel P., Boudreau, J-A., Kipfer, S. (2016). *Governing Cities Through Regions: Canadian and European Perspectives* (pp. 213-238). Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press

Moisio, S. (2018). *Geopolitics of the knowledge-based economy* (First edition.). London ; New York: Routledge

Moisio, S. (2012). *Valtio, alue, politiikka: Suomen tilasuhteiden sääntely toisesta maailmansodasta nykypäivään*. Tampere: Vastapaino

Murdoch, J. (1996). Actor-network theory and the prospects for a nondualistic and symmetrical perspective on nature and society. E*nvironment and Planning D: Society and Space, vol. 15,* 731-756

Mäntysalo, R., Kangasoja, J.K. and Kanninen, V. (2014). Rakennemallit kaupunkiseutujen suunnittelussa - Strategisen maankäytön suunnittelun paradoksi. *Ympäristöministeriön raportteja 18.* Retrieved from <https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/135729/YMra_18_2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Mäntysalo, R. and Kosonen, K-J. (2016). MAL-aiesopimusmenettely ja sen kehittäminen. In: Puustinen, S., Mäntysalo, R. and Kauppi, I (eds.). Strateginen eheyttäminen kaupunkiseuduilla - Näkökulmia kestävän maankäytön ja julkisen talouden kysymyksiin. *Valtioneuvoston selvitys- ja tutkimustoiminnan julkaisusarja 4/2016* (pp. 31-44). Retrieved from <http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/79556/strateginen%20eheyttäminen%20kaupunkiseuduilla.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

Mölsä, S. (2017). Keskisuuret rakennusliikkeet suhtautuvat varauksellisesti allianssiurakoinnin kasvattamiseen. *Rakennuslehti.* (Online). Retrieved from <https://www.rakennuslehti.fi/2017/05/keskisuuret-rakennusliikkeet-suhtautuvat-varauksellisesti-allianssiurakoinnin-kasvattamiseen/>

Neuman, M. (2005). The Compact City Fallacy. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 25(1),* 11-26

Osei-Kyei, R. (2015). Review of studies on the Critical Success Factors for Public–Private Partnership (PPP) projects from 1990 to 2013. *International Journal of Project Management, 33(6),* 1335-1346

Partanen, J. (2018). *'Don't Fix It if It Ain't Broke': Encounters with Planning for Complex Self-Organizing Cities* (Doctoral dissertation). Tampere University of Technology. Publication; Vuosikerta 1514. Retrieved from <https://tutcris.tut.fi/portal/files/13607173/partanen_1514.pdf>

Prince, R. (2012). Policy transfer, consultants and the geographies of governance. *Progress in Human Geography, 36(2),* 188-203

Raco, M., Street, E. and Freire-Trigo, S. (2015). The New Localism, Anti-Political Development Machines, and the Role of Planning Consultants: Lessons from London's South Bank. *Territory, Politics, Governance, 4(2),* 1-25

Rapoport, E. (2015). Globalising sustainable urbanism: The role of international masterplanners. *Area, 47(2),* 110-115

Ritzer, G. (2005). *Encyclopedia of social theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rinkinen, K. and Kinnunen, J. (2017). Asemakaavoituksen muutokset Suomen kasvuseuduilla. *Ympäristöministeriön raportteja 20*. Retrieved from <http://julkaisut.valtioneuvosto.fi/bitstream/handle/10024/80531/YMra_20_2017.pdf

Schulman, H., Aalto, S. and Pulma, P. (2000). *Helsingin historia vuodesta 1945: 2, Suunnittelu ja rakentuminen, Sosiaaliset ongelmat, Urheilu.* Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki.

Siemiatycki, M. (2006). Implications of Private-Public Partnerships on the development of urban public transit infrastructure: The case of Vancouver, Canada. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 26(2),* 137-151

Smith, N. (2002). New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. *Antipode, 34(3),* 427-450

Statistics Finland. (2019). *Vanhojen osakeasuntojen kauppojen lukumäärät ja neliöhinnat, neljännesvuosittain, 2010-, 2010Q1-2018Q4*.* (Online). Retrieved from <http://pxnet2.stat.fi/PXWeb/pxweb/fi/StatFin/StatFin__asu__ashi__nj/statfin_ashi_pxt_112r.px/?rxid=4afefe38-6049-4bae-bbaf-84696555e131>

Statistics Finland (2014). *Perustarpeet rasittavat ympäristöä eniten.* (Online). Retrieved from <http://tilastokeskus.fi/tietotrendit/artikkelit/2014/perustarpeet-rasittavat-ymparistoa-eniten/>

Stjernberg, M. (2017). *Helsingin seudun 1960- ja 1970-lukujen lähiöiden sosioekonominen ja demografinen kehitys vuoden 1990 jälkeen*. (Online) Helsinki: Helsingin kaupunki. Retrieved from <https://www.hel.fi/hel2/tietokeskus/julkaisut/pdf/17_06_07_Tutkimuksia_1_Stjernberg.pdf>

Storper, M. (2013). *Keys to the city: How economics, institutions, social interactions, and politics shape development*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Swyngedouw, E. (2007) Impossible "Sustainability" and the Post-Political Condition In: Gibbs, D., and Krueger, R. (2007) *The Sustainable Development Paradox* (pp. 13-40). New York: Guilford Press

Teisman, G. R. and Klijn, E-H. (2000). Public-private partnerships in the European Union - Officially suspect, embraced in daily practice. In: Osborne, S. P. (2000). *Public-private partnerships: Theory and practice in international perspective* (165-186). London ; New York: Routledge

Työ- ja elinkeinoministeriö. (2018). *Partnership*. (Online). Retrieved from <https://tem.fi/en/public-private-partnerships1>

Törmänen, E. (2018). YIT ja Lemminkäinen sulautuvat yhteen torstaina – samalla syntyy Suomen ehdottomasti suurin rakennusliike. *Tekniikka &Talous*. (Online) Retrieved from <https://www.tekniikkatalous.fi/tekniikka/rakennus/yit-ja-lemminkainen-sulautuvat-yhteen-torstaina-samalla-syntyy-suomen-ehdottomasti-suurin-rakennusliike-6698720

Vaattovaara, M. and Kortteinen, M. (2003). Beyond polarisation versus professionalisation? A case study of the development of the Helsinki Region, Finland. *Urban Studies, 40(11),* 2127-2145

Vogelpohl, A. (2018). Consulting as a threat to local democracy? Flexible management consultants, pacified citizens, and political tactics of strategic development in German cities. *Urban Geography, 39(9),* 1345-1365

Wallin, A., Leino, H., Jokinen, A., Laine, M., Tuomisaari, J. and Bäcklund, P. (2018). A Polyphonic Story of Urban Densification. *Urban Planning, 3(3),* 40-51

Yli-Villamo, H. and Petäjäniemi, P. (2013). *Allianssimalli.* (Online) Helsinki: Rakennustieto. Retrieved from <https://www.rakennustieto.fi/Downloads/RK/RK130202.pdf>

Appendix

Co-occurrence table generated in the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software and exported to Excel.

Code	Brand	Bureauc	Busines	Change	City lanc	Complex	Continui	Differen	Directly t	Ecologiz	Financin	High den	Hypocris	Infrastru	Intersect	Investme	Large pr	Legislati	Manager	NIMBY	Particips	Planning	Planning	Politics \
Brand	0	0	0,02941	0,01471	0	0	0,04	0	0	0,07317	0	0,08889	0	0,05405	0	0,1	0,04545	0,02857	0,02041	0	0	0,1074	0,0303	0
Bureaucracy	0	0,02941	0	0,02941	0,04545	0,04	0,22727	0,04	0	0,04762	0,03448	0,02083	0	0,02632	0,05263	0,02326	0	0,2	0,13636	0	0,01639	0,13333	0,05882	0
Business relationship	0,02941	0,02941	0,02941	0	0,04615	0,0625	0,04	0	0	0,08696	0,04762	0,02083	0	0,02632	0,05263	0,02326	0,04651	0	0,19512	0	0,01639	0,07018	0,1	0,02941
Change	0,01471	0,04545	0,04615	0	0	0,01695	0	0	0,01754	0,05479	0,05	0,06494	0,01563	0,07463	0,04286	0,04054	0,01282	0,02985	0,09211	0	0,13095	0	0,02985	0
City land ownership	0	0,04	0,0625	0	0	0,02381	0,05	0,05263	0,025	0	0,02222	0	0,04348	0	0,0566	0,03448	0,01639	0	0,08197	0	0,01299	0,13636	0,01961	0
Complexity	0	0,22727	0,04	0,01695	0,02381	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02564	0	0,02941	0,06824	0,17391	0,1	0	0,18811	0	0,03922	0,13636	0	0
Continuity	0,04	0,04	0	0	0,05	0	0	0,07692	0	0	0	0	0,03571	0	0,0625	0,02857	0	0	0,02564	0	0	0	0,13043	0
Difference	0	0	0	0	0,05263	0	0	0,07692	0	0,08333	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,04348	0	0	0	0	0,04762	0,09091	0
Directly brought trend	0	0,08696	0	0,01754	0,025	0	0	0	0,08333	0	0,06452	0,05556	0	0,03704	0,03571	0,06452	0	0,04167	0,02632	0	0,02	0	0,04167	0
Ecologization	0,07317	0,04762	0	0,05479	0	0	0	0	0	0,06452	0	0,16327	0,11111	0,20513	0	0,06122	0	0,02326	0,03571	0,03448	0,01449	0	0,02326	0
Financing	0	0,03448	0	0,05	0,02222	0	0,11111	0	0	0,05556	0	0	0,06452	0,0303	0,11765	0,08108	0,07143	0,02326	0	0	0	0	0,15385	0
High density	0,08889	0,02083	0,02128	0,06494	0	0,02564	0	0	0,05556	0,16327	0	0	0,09756	0,2093	0	0,01786	0	0	0	0,05882	0,02174	0,02174	0,02083	0
Hypocrisy	0	0	0	0,01563	0,04348	0	0	0	0	0,11111	0	0,09756	0	0,02941	0	0,02564	0	0	0,02632	0,04167	0	0	0	0
Infrastructure	0,05405	0,02632	0	0,07463	0	0	0	0	0,03704	0,20513	0,06452	0,2093	0,02941	0	0,04444	0,02083	0,02632	0,02564	0,07692	0,04167	0,06452	0,02703	0	0
Intersectoral cooperation	0	0,05263	0,18182	0,04286	0,0566	0	0	0	0,03571	0	0,0303	0	0	0	0,06667	0,02041	0,02564	0,125	0	0	0,06452	0,02703	0	0
Investment	0,1	0,02326	0,02381	0,04054	0,03448	0,02941	0,0625	0	0,06452	0,06122	0,11765	0,01786	0,02564	0,04444	0,06667	0	0,16204	0,02326	0,11538	0,03448	0	0,11111	0,02439	0,07317
Large project	0,04545	0	0,04651	0,01282	0,01639	0,08824	0,02857	0	0	0	0,08108	0	0,02083	0,02041	0,16204	0	0	0,03448	0,03226	0,08333	0,28571	0,02326	0,04545	0
Legislation	0,02857	0,2	0	0,02985	0	0,17391	0	0,04348	0,04167	0,02326	0,07143	0	0,02632	0,02564	0,02326	0	0	0	0,11111	0	0	0,0625	0,02857	0
Managerial	0,02041	0,13636	0,19512	0,09211	0,08197	0,10811	0,02564	0	0,02632	0,03571	0,02326	0	0	0,01923	0,125	0,11538	0,03448	0,11111	0	0	0,07042	0,06667	0,08696	0
NIMBY	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03448	0	0	0,06897	0,04167	0	0,03448	0,03226	0	0	0,15385	0	0	0	0
Participation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03333	0	0	0,15385	0	0	0,03846	0	0
Planning machines	0,10714	0,01639	0,07018	0,13095	0,01639	0,03922	0	0	0	0,02	0,01449	0	0,02174	0	0,06452	0,11111	0,28571	0	0,07042	0	0	0,03448	0,07246	0
Planning monopoly	0,0303	0,13333	0,1	0	0,13636	0,13636	0	0,04762	0	0	0	0	0,02174	0	0,02703	0,02439	0,02326	0,0625	0,06667	0	0,03846	0,03448	0	0,0625
Politics vs planning	0	0,05882	0,02941	0,02985	0,07961	0	0,13043	0,09091	0,04167	0,02326	0,15385	0,02083	0	0	0	0,07317	0,04545	0,02857	0,08696	0	0	0,06349	0,0625	0
Politics vs sustainability	0	0	0	0,01818	0	0	0	0	0	0,03333	0	0,02857	0	0,04	0	0	0,04545	0	0	0	0,01639	0,0625	0	0,09524
Post-democracy	0	0	0	0,01493	0,0625	0	0	0,09524	0,09091	0,075	0	0,02128	0	0	0	0,09756	0	0,02083	0,05	0,33333	0,01667	0,03125	0,02941	0
Power relations	0	0,04225	0,12308	0,02885	0,30435	0	0,06667	0,08772	0,01613	0	0,0625	0	0,14706	0,06494	0,02439	0,04225	0,08642	0,01695	0,13559	0,03093	0,14286	0,13846	0	0
PPP	0,02439	0	0,07895	0,07143	0,07407	0	0	0	0	0	0,125	0	0,04651	0,12195	0	0,0791	0,05	0,0566	0	0	0,0625	0	0,05	0
Private land ownership	0	0,03226	0,10714	0,01563	0,2	0	0,04762	0,05263	0	0,08333	0	0	0,02941	0,02857	0,05263	0	0	0,03226	0,02222	0	0	0,07143	0,03226	0
Profit	0	0	0,08333	0,02817	0,07692	0	0	0	0,03571	0,06667	0	0,08163	0	0,02381	0,02326	0,11628	0,13636	0,02564	0,08	0	0,15789	0,05556	0,05263	0
Public vs private	0	0,025	0,02564	0,0137	0,1875	0	0	0,16	0,11111	0	0,02941	0,01887	0,05714	0	0,09756	0,06522	0,04082	0,05128	0	0	0,01515	0,08333	0,025	0
Purification	0,08824	0,05714	0,05882	0,11111	0,01923	0	0	0,04167	0,08333	0,07143	0,10714	0,04167	0	0,02564	0,05128	0,02273	0	0,05714	0,0625	0	0,03279	0,02941	0,05714	0
Resources	0,0625	0,04082	0,02041	0,07692	0,08065	0,02439	0	0,02632	0	0,02273	0	0	0	0	0,05769	0,03509	0,22	0,04082	0,03175	0	0,04	0,04255	0,02	0
Small apartments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,07143	0,0303	0	0	0,21875	0,04762	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,04	0	0,04
Small circles	0	0,04762	0,03704	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02083	0	0,04545	0
Small companies	0	0,03846	0,08333	0,03448	0,02381	0	0	0	0	0	0,05	0	0	0	0,03333	0,09375	0,05714	0,03846	0	0	0,06	0	0	0
Successful cooperation	0,02632	0,02632	0,1579	0,01408	0,03774	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,05	0,13158	0	0,02083	0,08333	0,12766	0	0,06557	0,02778	0	0
Sustainability	0,12821	0,04762	0	0,05479	0	0	0,0625	0	0,03125	0,2381	0,02703	0,23913	0,14286	0,23684	0	0,04	0,01887	0,04762	0,07754	0,03448	0	0	0	0
Technology	0,07692	0	0	0,08929	0	0	0	0	0	0,09091	0	0,025	0	0,14815	0	0,02857	0	0	0,04839	0	0	0	0,05	0
Tendering	0,02	0,0625	0,04167	0,06329	0,17544	0	0	0,02632	0	0	0	0	0	0,07692	0,05357	0,27083	0,08511	0,04839	0	0	0,20313	0,04255	0	0
Translation	0,11538	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,27586	0	0,05	0,04167	0,10345	0,03125	0,05714	0,02632	0	0,04878	0,07143	0,04762	0,01852	0	0
Transparency	0,06897	0,10714	0	0,01587	0,04444	0	0,05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03448	0	0,025	0,03333	0	0	0,0625	0,33333	0,01786	0,03571	0
Traveling planning ideas	0,13793	0,04878	0	0,08571	0,01724	0	0,03125	0,03333	0,10345	0,08511	0	0,0566	0	0,04545	0,06818	0,02	0,07823	0,075	0,03636	0	0,07813	0,025	0	0
Trend	0,13636	0,02041	0,02083	0,12162	0	0	0,02564	0	0,02632	0,18367	0	0,10526	0	0,06	0,05882	0,09434	0	0,08696	0,08475	0	0,0411	0,02128	0,02041	0
Urban politics	0,04348	0,16327	0,02174	0,08	0,06667	0	0,11765	0,02857	0,02778	0,07843	0,05	0,03333	0	0,01961	0,12	0	0	0	0,14815	0	0,07895	0	0,04545	0,23077
Urbanisation	0	0,02326	0	0,20313	0,03448	0,02941	0	0	0,03125	0,08333	0	0,1875	0,02564	0,11905	0,02128	0,01961	0	0	0,01754	0	0,02778	0,01449	0	0

Code	Politics v	Post-der	Power re	PPP	Private l	Profit	Public v	Purificat	Resourc	Small ap	Small cir	Small co	Success	Sustaina	Technol	Tenderir	Translati	Transpa	Travelin	Trend	Urban p	Urbanisa
Brand	0	0	0	0,02439	0	0	0	0,08824	0,0625	0	0	0	0,02632	0,12821	0,07692	0,02	0,11538	0,06897	0,13158	0,13636	0,04348	0
Bureaucracy	0	0	0,04225	0	0,03226	0	0,025	0,05714	0,04082	0	0	0,03846	0,02632	0,04762	0	0,0625	0	0,10714	0,04878	0,02041	0,11628	0,02326
Business relationship	0	0	0,12308	0,07895	0,10714	0,08333	0,02564	0,05882	0,02041	0	0,04762	0,08333	0,15152	0	0	0,04167	0	0	0	0,02083	0,02174	0
Change	0,01818	0,01493	0,02885	0,07143	0,01563	0,02817	0,0137	0,11111	0,07692	0	0,03704	0,03448	0,01408	0,05479	0,08929	0,06329	0	0,01587	0,08571	0,12162	0,08	0,20313
City land ownership	0	0,0625	0,30435	0,07407	0,2	0,07692	0,1875	0,01923	0,08065	0	0	0,02381	0,03774	0	0	0,17544	0	0,04444	0,01724	0	0,06667	0,03448
Complexity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02439	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02941
Continuity	0	0	0,06667	0	0,04762	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,0625	0	0	0	0,05	0,03125	0,02564	0,11765	0
Difference	0	0,09524	0,08772	0	0,05263	0	0,16	0,04167	0,02632	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02632	0	0	0,03333	0	0,02857	0
Directly brought trend	0	0,09091	0,01613	0	0	0,03571	0,11111	0,08333	0	0,07143	0	0	0	0,03125	0	0	0	0	0,10345	0,02632	0,02778	0,03125
Ecologization	0,03333	0,075	0	0	0	0,06667	0	0,07143	0	0,0303	0	0	0	0,2381	0,09091	0	0,27586	0	0,08511	0,18367	0,01818	0,08333
Financing	0	0	0,0625	0,125	0,08333	0	0,02941	0,10714	0,02273	0	0	0,05	0	0,02703	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,05	0
High density	0,02857	0,02128	0	0	0	0,08163	0,01887	0,04167	0	0,21875	0	0	0	0,23913	0,025	0	0,05	0	0,0566	0,10526	0,0339	0,1875
Hypocrisy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,05714	0	0	0,04762	0	0	0	0,14286	0	0	0,04167	0	0	0	0	0,02564
Infrastructure	0,04	0	0	0,04651	0,02941	0,02381	0	0,02564	0	0	0	0	0,05	0,23684	0,14815	0	0,10345	0	0,04545	0,06	0	0,11905
Intersectoral cooperation	0	0	0,14706	0,12195	0,02857	0,02326	0,09756	0,05128	0,05769	0	0	0,03333	0,13158	0	0	0,01852	0,03125	0	0,06818	0,05882	0,01961	0,02128
Investment	0	0	0,06494	0	0,05263	0,11628	0,06522	0,02273	0,03509	0	0	0,09375	0	0,04	0,02857	0,05357	0,05714	0	0,02	0,09434	0,12	0,01961
Large project	0	0,09756	0,02439	0,01961	0	0,13636	0,04082	0	0,22	0	0	0,05714	0,02083	0,01887	0	0,27083	0,02632	0,025	0,01923	0	0	0
Legislation	0,04545	0	0,04225	0,05	0,03226	0,02564	0,05128	0,05714	0,04082	0	0	0,03846	0,08333	0,04762	0	0,08511	0	0,03333	0,075	0,08696	0	0
Managerial	0	0,02083	0,08642	0,0566	0,02222	0,08	0	0,0625	0,03175	0	0	0	0,12766	0,01754	0	0,04839	0,04878	0	0,03636	0,08475	0,14815	0,01754
NIMBY	0	0,05	0,01695	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03448	0	0	0,07143	0,0625	0	0	0	0
Participation	0	0,33333	0,13559	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,05	0	0,04762	0,33333	0	0	0,07895	0,02778
Planning machines	0	0,01667	0,03093	0,0625	0	0,15789	0,01515	0,03279	0,4	0,04	0,02083	0,06	0,06557	0	0	0,20313	0,01852	0,01786	0,07813	0,0411	0	0,01449
Planning monopoly	0	0,03125	0,14286	0	0,07143	0,05556	0,08333	0,02941	0,04255	0	0	0	0,02778	0	0	0,04255	0	0,03571	0,025	0,02128	0,04545	0
Politics vs planning	0,09524	0,02941	0,13846	0,05	0,03226	0,05263	0,025	0,05714	0,02	0,04	0,04545	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02041	0,23077	0
Politics vs sustainability	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03333	0	0	0	0	0,03448	0,08824	0	0,03333
Post-democracy	0	0	0,08955	0	0,03333	0	0,05263	0,05882	0,02041	0	0	0	0	0	0,08	0,04167	0,03704	0,11111	0,02439	0,02083	0,06818	0,02381
Power relations	0	0,08955	0	0,11111	0,12903	0,05405	0,19697	0,04167	0,04706	0	0,01667	0,03175	0,05479	0	0,01538	0,09877	0	0,07813	0,0125	0	0,16216	0,025
PPP	0	0	0,11111	0	0,05556	0	0,06818	0,13158	0,09615	0	0,03571	0,03125	0,32353	0	0	0,05556	0	0	0,06522	0,01818	0,01887	0
Private land ownership	0	0,03333	0,12903	0,05556	0	0,05882	0,15625	0	0,06818	0	0	0	0,02941	0	0	0,06818	0	0,03846	0	0	0,04762	0
Profit	0	0	0,05405	0	0,05882	0	0,15385	0	0	0,15385	0	0,03333	0,02381	0,02128	0	0,05769	0	0	0	0,08	0,06122	0,02128
Public vs private	0	0,05263	0,19697	0,06818	0,15625	0,15385	0	0,02439	0,01818	0	0,03704	0,03226	0	0	0	0,0566	0	0	0,04348	0,03774	0,08163	0
Purification	0	0,05882	0,04167	0,13158	0	0	0,02439	0	0,01961	0	0	0,03704	0,05263	0,07143	0,03571	0	0	0	0,18919	0,08511	0,06522	0,07143
Resources	0	0,02041	0,04706	0,09615	0,06818	0	0,01818	0,01961	0	0	0	0,07692	0,05882	0	0	0,32	0	0,06977	0,03571	0,03175	0,01613	0
Small apartments	0	0	0	0	0	0,15385	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,11111	0,02703	0,09677
Small circles	0	0	0,01667	0,03571	0	0	0,03704	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,05556	0	0,05882	0	0	0,02941	0
Small companies	0	0	0,03175	0,03125	0	0,03333	0,03226	0,03704	0,07692	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,2	0	0,04762	0	0	0	0
Successful cooperation	0	0	0,05479	0,32353	0,02941	0,02381	0	0,05263	0,05882	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,03846	0	0	0,04545	0	0	0
Sustainability	0,03333	0	0	0	0	0,02128	0	0,07143	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,02857	0	0,08824	0,05405	0,13333	0,09434	0,01818	0,10638
Technology	0	0,08	0,01538	0	0	0	0	0,03571	0	0	0	0	0	0,02857	0	0	0,10526	0	0,02941	0,05	0	0,05882
Tendering	0	0,04167	0,09877	0,05556	0,06818	0,05769	0,0566	0	0,32	0	0,05556	0,2	0,03846	0	0	0	0	0,12195	0,01754	0	0	0
Translation	0	0,03704	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,08824	0,10526	0	0	0	0,02857	0,10256	0	0
Transparency	0	0,11111	0,07813	0	0,03846	0	0	0	0,06977	0	0,05882	0,04762	0	0,05405	0	0,12195	0	0	0,05556	0,02273	0,075	0,02632
Traveling planning ideas	0,03448	0,02439	0,0125	0,06522	0	0	0,04348	0,18919	0,03571	0	0	0	0,04545	0,13333	0,02941	0,01754	0,02857	0,05556	0	0,16327	0,01852	0,02
Trend	0,08824	0,02083	0	0,01818	0	0,08	0,03774	0,08511	0,03175	0,11111	0	0	0	0,09434	0,05	0	0,10256	0,02273	0,16327	0	0,06897	0,16
Urban politics	0	0,06818	0,16216	0,01887	0,04762	0,06122	0,08163	0,06522	0,01613	0,02703	0,02941	0	0	0,01818	0	0	0	0,075	0,01852	0,06897	0	0,01818
Urbanisation	0,03333	0,02381	0,025	0	0	0,02128	0	0,07143	0	0,09677	0	0	0	0,10638	0,05882	0	0	0,02632	0,02	0,16	0,01818	0